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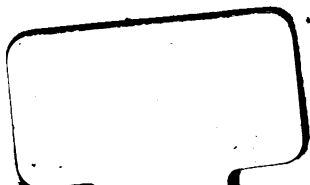
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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

THE
LIFE OF THOMAS CRANMER

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY :
MARTYRED, A.D. 1556.

" And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly."—*Matt.* xxvi. 75.

SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY, FLEET STREET;
AND B. SEELEY, HANOVER STREET,
LONDON. MDCCCLVI.

210. c. 126.



THE present Memoir, could it be hoped that its execution were at all commensurate with the merits of its subject, would prove one of the most interesting as well as one of the most important of the series. For we have here brought before us the man who was raised up by God to be, more than any other man, the Founder of the Reformed Church of England; or, if the expression pleases better, the directing and forming hand of the English Reformation.

It is very common among those who have no love for Protestantism to speak of Henry VIII. as the author of that great change. But Henry had not even the merit of Jehu in the kingdom of Israel. Led and governed by his passions, the quarrel with the Papacy was an accident to him; not a purpose, or a rational intention. It is, however, a circumstance to be placed to his credit, that he had discernment enough to understand and appreciate the character of Cranmer, and virtue enough to shield and defend him. Henry was the battle-axe in the Omnipotent Hand,—Cranmer the polished shaft.

Insufficiently indeed, but with sincere intent, the following narrative aims to vindicate the character of the first Protestant Archbishop. The space to which we are limited prevents our doing this at any length; but the facts stated, which are beyond contradiction, sufficiently refute the unjust representations which disfigure the pages of our admired modern historian. To present Cranmer as a blameless or pattern man, would be unjustifiable. He fell, lamentably; but, by Christ's strength, he rose again to fall no more.

There are many things in the working of God's providence, which must, at least in this life, remain to us inscrutable; and probably the unlooked-for and still unintelligible fall of Cranmer will ever remain one of them. We perceive the end,—the event,—without being in the least degree informed as to the means by which that end was brought about. The archbishop perseveres through a long life, never concealing or compromising his religious views for any one. He is the same man under Henry, under Edward, and under Mary. When the bigot queen ascends the throne, he, knowing that his life was absolutely at her disposal, rejects the mass, and assails the pope, quite regardless of consequences. Hence we say, that to represent him, as Macaulay has done, as one who "would have heard mass, and received absolution, like a good Catholic, if Mary would have suffered him,"—is one of the greatest outrages upon historic truth that can be found in the English language. It is such fatal

blemishes as these which forced a friendly critic to say, of Mr. Macaulay's work, that "it is very pleasant reading, but it is *not a history of England.*"

Without endeavouring to solve that which will probably ever remain in this life inscrutable, we may perhaps be allowed to suggest, that it is not the will of God to place before his Church any other *perfect* example, than the ONE which is afforded to us in His Son. All other men, even when exalted to be *saints*, still remain *men*; and therefore fallible and sinful. Hence we have in Luther, great strength, sagacity, and firmness; but with these, much violence, coarseness, and obstinacy. On the other hand, we have in Cranmer, mildness, gentleness, equanimity, humility; but with these, we have a mixture of timidity, hesitation, and a disposition to bend to authority, and also to yield to persuasion. Hence, neither Luther nor Cranmer can be idolized. At this moment, both of these great men, God's chief gifts to his Church in the sixteenth century, are assailed with the most vehement reproaches, by two of the leading men of our own times. Sir William Hamilton undertakes to remove Luther from the place he has hitherto occupied in our regard; and Mr. Macaulay has done much to bring the name of Cranmer into contempt. But truth will survive even such assaults as these. No fair and unprejudiced man can dispassionately read the true records of Cranmer's life, without feeling satisfied that he was one of the best of mere human beings. Not faultless,

indeed, but humble, sincere, an earnest seeker after truth. A wise, calm, thoughtful, and laborious man; who spent a long life in the service of God and his Church, and whose fall, during a few of his later days, should no more destroy our regard for him, than Peter's denial of his Lord was allowed to erase his name from the honoured list of Christ's disciples.

It only remains to add, that the present volume is based on the well-known works of Mr. Todd and Mr. Le Bas. The narrative is often given in the very words of the former of these writers; but it is mingled with such further information as is afforded by Mr. Le Bas, Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, and the collections of the Parker Society.

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LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

I.

EARLY LIFE—INTRODUCTION TO THE KING—MISSION TO ROME.

A.D. 1489—1531.

OUR present task, while it is needful, is in some sort an arduous one. The last twenty years have witnessed a series of attacks on the fair fame of Cranmer, which have met with no adequate refutation. These attacks, unjust as they have been, have emanated from authors of high repute, and have thus been circulated through every class of society. In this way the character of one of the chief founders of the Reformed Church of England has been most unduly depreciated. He has not merely been removed from the roll of the great men of our nation, but even that reputation which more justly belongs to him, of one eminently *good*, has been in a considerable measure taken away. In a brief sketch like that which our limits allow, we may be unable to meet in any sufficient manner these charges; but it will be our endeavour to deal with them faithfully, and we have no doubt of being able to prove that the character of this excellent prelate has suffered great and manifold wrongs. To drive back the torrent of contumely, which has been directed against him, may be scarcely possible; yet we believe that truth must finally

prevail ; and we desire no other weapons than those of truth to vindicate the fame of Thomas Cranmer.

This chief instrument employed by God in the reformation of the Church of England, was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d of July, 1489. He was thus six years junior to Luther. He was the second son of a country gentleman, who traced his lineage back to one of the followers of the Norman Conqueror.

Of his boyhood little is known, except that he was placed under the care of a churlish pedagogue, "a rude parish-clerk," whose manners and temper were fitted to make learning hateful to his pupils ; and that, while at home, he was trained, like the sons of other gentlemen, to the various sports and exercises of rural life. In these pursuits his proficiency appears to have been highly respectable, notwithstanding some defect in his sight. In horsemanship, more especially, he acquired a degree of mastery which enabled him, after his highest advancement, to mount, without fear, the roughest and most unruly horses that could be found in his own stables.

Losing his father early in life, he was sent, about the year 1503, to Jesus College, Cambridge. Of this society he was elected fellow, about 1510 or 1511. From this period his studies took a wider range than the ordinary routine of the place. Erasmus was at that time resident in the University ; and by his presence and his example, as well as by his writings, contributed essentially to that revolution of literary taste, which opened the stores of sound and useful learning to the curiosity of the studious. That Cranmer became familiar with the works of this illustrious scholar and wit, is testified by all his biographers ; and the impulse communicated by them could hardly fail to carry him forward into the regions of ancient and classic literature. Greek and Hebrew, accordingly, are known to have entered largely into his scheme of study ; and it may be proper to notice in this place, once for all, that it was uniformly his habit, like that of the great Lord Burghley, to read with a pen in his hand, and to fill his *adversaria* with everything that appeared eminently worth noting, either by way of reference, or of actual transcription. The collections which

were thus accumulated by his industry became an armoury of strength to him in the warfare to which he subsequently devoted his life.

Within two years, however, he became attached to a young person, who, according to Foxe, was the daughter of a gentleman, but who was related to the wife of the keeper of the Dolphin Inn at Cambridge. As she, probably, had been a visitant with her kinsman at the Dolphin, when Cranmer became acquainted with her, he found it the simplest and most natural course, when he determined on marriage, to let her still remain in her relative's house ; while he, necessarily resigning his fellowship, provided for her maintenance, as well as his own, by becoming a lecturer or reader in Buckingham College (afterward Magdalen). This arrangement, however, did not continue long. In about a year his wife died. His Romish calumniators eagerly take advantage of the fact of his wife's residence at an inn, to describe him as "an hostler at the Dolphin." The clearest proof, however, that there was nothing in his marriage which lowered him in the esteem of those who best knew him, is found in the fact, that immediately death had removed his wife, his former college, Jesus, immediately reinstated him in the fellowship he had formerly held. In 1523 he proceeded to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was shortly after made Divinity Lecturer in Jesus College, and Examiner in Theology to the University. In the following year Wolsey's agents, who were in search of the ablest men that could be found to fill the offices in his new foundation, Christchurch, Oxford, proposed to Cranmer to accept a post in that college. Preferring, however, his long-accustomed haunts, or entreated by his colleagues not to leave them, he declined the Cardinal's overtures, and remained in Cambridge.

He had long devoted his chief attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures. His attention to this branch of learning was such as to acquire for him the truly honourable, though at that time somewhat invidious, appellation of *Scripturist*. The justice with which this title was ascribed to him was, much to their dissatisfaction, frequently experienced by those who were desirous of proceeding in

Divinity. Whatever might be their accomplishment in the scholastic erudition, it never was accepted by Cranmer as a passport to their degree, if not accompanied by a competent knowledge of the Bible. The candidate in such cases was uniformly rejected by him, and admonished to dedicate some years to the examination of that book, which alone could instruct him in the grounds of his faith and hope. The resentment excited by his inflexible adherence to this great principle, it may easily be imagined, was often deep and violent ; more especially among the friars. But the wisdom of it was, in many instances, abundantly justified by the grateful testimony of the disappointed candidates themselves ; several of whom were known, in after life, to express their cordial thanks for the firmness which compelled them to the attainment of a better knowledge than the schools could teach them.

About 1526 or 1527 Cranmer undertook the charge of two young gentlemen named Cressy, whose mother was his relative. In 1528 an epidemic raged at Cambridge, and Cranmer, naturally anxious for his youthful charge, removed them from the University, and carried them to their father's house in Waltham Abbey. He remained with them for some time, superintending their studies in their own home.

And here the providence of God laid hold upon Cranmer, and compelled him to enter upon that public life for which he was, in some respects, little fitted, and from which he would often have gladly retired. In July 1529, a crisis had arrived in the great cause which Henry VIII. was prosecuting before the legates of the holy see, touching his divorce from Catherine of Arragon. The legate Campeggio had just adjourned the cause until October, on the frivolous pretence that at Rome the Courts always took a vacation at that period, it being the harvest-time. The king was indignant at this barefaced manœuvre, and burned to break through the papal entanglements and delays. In his journey from Oxford to Greenwich, Henry stopped at Waltham, and two of his suite, Gardiner and Fox, were quartered at Mr. Cressy's house. We borrow a description of what followed from Merle d'Aubigné :—

"Fox and Gardiner having renewed acquaintance with their old friend at Waltham Abbey, they sat down to table, and both the almoner and the secretary asked the doctor what he thought of the divorce. It was the usual topic of conversation, and not long before, Cranmer had been named member of a commission appointed to give their opinion on this affair. 'You are not in the right path,' said Cranmer to his friends; 'you should not cling to the decisions of the Church. There is a surer and a shorter way, which alone can give peace to the king's conscience.'—'What is that?' they both asked.—'The true question is this,' replied Cranmer: '*What says the word of God?* If God has declared a marriage of this nature *bad*, the pope cannot make it *good*. Discontinue these interminable Roman negotiations. When God has spoken, man must obey.'—'But how shall we know what God has said?'—'Consult the Universities; they will discern it more surely than Rome.'

This was a new view. The idea of consulting the Universities had been acted upon before; but then their own opinions only had been demanded; now, the question was simply to know *what God says in his word*. 'The word of God is above the Church,' was the principle laid down by Cranmer, and in that principle consisted the whole of the Reformation. The conversation at the supper-table of Waltham was destined to be one of those secret springs which an invisible Hand sets in motion for the accomplishment of his great designs. The Cambridge doctor, suddenly transported from his study to the foot of the throne, was on the point of becoming one of the principal instruments of Divine wisdom.

The day after this conversation, Fox and Gardiner arrived at Greenwich, and the king summoned them into his presence the same evening. 'Well, gentlemen,' he said to them, 'our holidays are over; what shall we do now? If we still have recourse to Rome, God knows when we shall see the end of this matter.'—'It will not be necessary to take so long a journey,' said Fox; 'we know a shorter and surer way.'—'What is it?' asked the king eagerly.—'Dr. Cranmer, whom we met yesterday at Waltham, thinks that the Bible should be the sole judge in your cause.'

Gardiner, vexed at his colleague's frankness, desired to claim all the honour of this luminous idea for himself; but Henry did not listen to him. 'Where is Dr. Cranmer?' said he, much affected. 'Send and fetch him immediately. Mother of God! (this was his customary oath,) this man has the right sow by the ear. If this had only been suggested to me two years ago, what expense and trouble I should have been spared!'

Cranmer had gone into Nottinghamshire; a messenger followed and brought him back. 'Why have you entangled me in this affair?' he said to Fox and Gardiner. 'Pray make my excuses to the king.' Gardiner, who wished for nothing better, promised to do all he could; but it was of no use. 'I will have no excuses,' said Henry. The wily courtier was obliged to make up his mind to introduce the ingenuous and upright man, to whom that station, which he himself had so coveted, was one day to belong. Cranmer and Gardiner went down to Greenwich, both alike dissatisfied.

Cranmer was then forty years of age, with pleasing features, and mild and winning eyes, in which the candour of his soul seemed to be reflected. Sensible to the pains as well as to the pleasures of the heart, he was destined to be more exposed than other men to anxieties and falls; a peaceful life in some remote parsonage would have been more to his taste than the court of Henry VIII. Blessed with a generous mind, unhappily he did not possess the firmness necessary in a public man; a little stone sufficed to make him stumble. His excellent understanding showed him the better way; but his great timidity made him fear the more dangerous. He was rather too fond of relying upon the power of men, and made them unhappy concessions with too great facility. If the king had questioned him, he would never have dared advise so bold a course as that he had pointed out; the advice had slipped from him at table during the intimacy of familiar conversation. Yet he was sincere, and after doing everything to escape from the consequences of his frankness, he was ready to maintain the opinion he had given.

Henry, perceiving Cranmer's timidity, graciously ap-

proached him. 'What is your name?' said the king, endeavouring to put him at his ease. 'Did you not meet my secretary and my almoner at Waltham?' And then he added: 'Did you not speak to them of my great affair?'—repeating the words ascribed to Cranmer. The latter could not retreat: 'Sir, it is true, I did say so.'—'I see,' replied the king with animation, 'that you have found the breach through which we must storm the fortress. Now, sir doctor, I beg you, and as you are my subject I command you, to lay aside every other occupation, and to bring my cause to a conclusion in conformity with the ideas you have put forth. All that I desire to know is, whether my marriage is contrary to the laws of God or not. Employ all your skill in investigating the subject, and thus bring comfort to my conscience as well as to the queen's.'

Cranmer was confounded; he recoiled from the idea of deciding on an affair on which depended, it might be, the destinies of the nation, and sighed after the lonely fields of Aslacton. But, grasped by the vigorous hand of Henry, he was compelled to advance. 'Sir,' said he, 'pray intrust this matter to doctors more learned than I am.'—'I am very willing,' answered the king; 'but I desire that you will also give me your opinion in writing.' And then summoning the Earl of Wiltshire to his presence, he said to him, 'My lord, you will receive Dr. Cranmer into your house at Durham Place, and let him have all necessary quiet to compose a report for which I have asked him.' After this precise command, which admitted of no refusal, Henry withdrew."

In this manner was Cranmer introduced by the king to Anne Boleyn's father, and not, as some Romanist authors have asserted, by Sir Thomas Boleyn to the king. Wiltshire conducted Cranmer to Durham House (now the Adelphi in the Strand), and the pious doctor, on whom Henry had imposed these quarters, soon contracted a close friendship with Anne and her father, and took advantage of it to teach them the value of the Divine word, as *the pearl of great price*. Henry, while profiting by the address of a Wolsey and a Gardiner, paid little regard to the men; but he respected Cranmer, even when opposed to him in

opinion, and until his death placed the learned doctor above all his courtiers and all his clerks. The pious man often succeeds better, even with the great ones of this world, than the ambitious and the intriguing.

The service now required was not of Cranmer's seeking; nor could the value thus set upon his opinion have been within his thoughts. What he was commanded, however, to do, he soon did; and produced a treatise alleging the king's objection to be supported by the authority of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers; and at once affirming the Bishop of Rome to have no authority that might dispense with the word of God. Upon the perusal of the composition, the king said to him, "Will you abide by this, that you have here written, before the Bishop of Rome?" Cranmer answered, "That I will do, by God's grace, if your Majesty shall send me thither;" and the royal reply was, "I will send you."

Cranmer was now to appear, as he had engaged to do, before the Bishop of Rome. He was accordingly joined with other divines to the embassy, at the head of which was the Earl of Wiltshire. The king was still desirous, if yet it might be done, to obtain from the perplexed and dilatory pontiff a divorce in the regular way. Yet his agents were everywhere collecting decisions to disencumber him, when he pleased, of the authority to which he now again addressed himself.

But before Cranmer was thus personally employed to contend for his sovereign, his book was circulated to the same purpose. It was sent to Cambridge before the final answer of that University was obtained in favour of the divorce; which indeed was not obtained without repeated opposition, and even objection to the votes of those who, having read the treatise of Cranmer, were convinced by his arguments. It has been said that he was present at the debate upon this question, and effected by public disputation what had been produced by his pen. But this could not be. The embassy of the Earl of Wiltshire and his colleagues was appointed at the close of 1529, and they departed soon afterwards. In February 1530, Fox and Gardiner (not with Cranmer, as it has been asserted) were

sent to Cambridge, to procure the answer which has been noticed. In their letter to the king, detailing all the proceedings, they speak indeed of Cranmer's book, but not of his presence, which, if he had been there, would certainly have been mentioned. They add a list of those who promised their votes to the king, among whom Cranmer is not named. He had now indeed left England.

His book accompanied him to Rome. But there the business still halted. Neither the political nor theological address of those who were employed for Henry could bring Clement to their purpose. The colleagues of Cranmer soon returned to report their ill-success, and left him at the papal court. On the 28th of July, in that year, he reports to Croke, another of the king's agents in Italy, the opposition he experienced. "As for our successes here (at Rome), they be very little; nor dare we to attempt to know any man's mind, because of the pope: nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no friars shall discuss his power. And as for any favour in this court, I look for none, but to have the pope with all his cardinals declare against us." Cranmer had observed that Clement was too devoted to the interest of the Emperor Charles to abandon, at that time, the subterfuges to which he had resorted.

Meantime a measure had been taken at home, which was intended, if the pontiff should disregard it, wholly to render needless his further intervention. It was a memorial signed by the two archbishops, four bishops, twenty-two abbots, many peers, and others of inferior condition, urging the weight of such authority as sufficient to enforce the consent required. It bore the date of July 13, 1530. Two months and more elapsed before the papal answer was returned. That the answer was of a more conciliatory nature than the pontiff's movements hitherto had been is certain. It was dated September 27. But it was ineffectual to keep the question open. Before it could arrive in England, the royal proclamation had been issued, prohibiting the admission into this country of any bull from Rome that might interfere with the prerogatives of the king. This was the first important blow at the usurpation that,

by its indecision and duplicity, contributed to its own defeat.

Many of the Universities, and many eminent theologians and canonists, had now delivered their opinions in favour of the king: those of Italy, while Cranmer was there. In the papal court itself, too, Cranmer is believed to have found many agreeing with his own opinion, though cautiously expressing it, that the marriage of the king had not been lawful. Before the pontiff, indeed, although he earnestly desired it, he was not permitted to dispute publicly upon the points in his treatise. The challenge was always civilly declined. And, as if to silence him with kindness, Clement bestowed upon him a mark of distinction, which Cranmer has been blamed for accepting, as though he had been insincere in his professions against the papal power. But that he exercised any authority, or derived any advantage in consequence of this distinction, his enemies never pretended. "The Earl of Wiltshire," says our Church historian, "presented the pope a book of Cranmer's penning, proving God's law not to be dispensed with by the pope; a book as welcome to his holiness as a prison, beholding his own power therein limited and confined. Promise was made of a public disputation, but never performed. Only the pope (*who is excellent at making of nothing something by the solemn giving thereof*) made Cranmer supreme penitentiary (*an empty title*) throughout all his dominions. This was only to stay his stomach, in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment."

After an abode of several months at Rome, he returned to England; probably soon after the hesitating answer of Clement to the memorial of the English peers and prelates. He had conducted himself with so much prudence that he was next appointed to be sole ambassador to him who had joined with Clement in resistance to the king—the Emperor Charles. His commission is dated in January 1531, but he appears not to have left this country until after Midsummer in that year.

That he crossed the Alps without returning to his native land, on this appointment, there is no particular

evidence ; that he was at home in the month that has been named, there is sufficient. A book, written by Reginald Pole and addressed to the king, was then before him. Strype, and some others, assign this incident to the month of June in 1530, and accordingly so date the letter of Cranmer to the Earl of Wiltshire upon the subject of the book. The letter plainly shows that, when it was written, Cranmer was in England ; but in June, 1530, he was at Rome. His account from Rome in the following month has just been cited. Moreover, Pole, who had been required by Henry to procure in France opinions in favour of the divorce—a task which he declined—was not recalled from Paris before 1531. In the June of that year he was led to explain the motives of his conduct, and at the same time he is believed to have presented a book upon the important question to his sovereign. Henry appears to have lost no time in communicating it to Cranmer. And Cranmer as quickly transmitted to his sovereign the substance of it. His epistle is interesting in many respects, as the earliest of his letters with which we are acquainted ; as it analyses a book that had been written and presented by Pole to the king, which the biographers of the cardinal had never seen ; and above all, as it illustrates the spirit with which Cranmer at first opposed the papal authority ; and shows him, while his sovereign yet leaned with superstitious reverence to that authority, firm in his disregard of it. He had now been at Rome, and it had long been among his prayers, “that he might see the power of Rome destroyed ;” for he had witnessed “so many things in it contrary to God’s honour and the wealth of this realm, as to pray unto God continually that we might be separated from that see.”

His letter to the Earl of Wiltshire is as follows :—

“To the Right Honourable and my singular good lord,
my Lord of Wiltshire.

“It may please your lordship to be advertised that the king’s grace, my lady your wife, [and] my lady Anne,

your daughter, be in good health ; whereof thanks be to God.

“ As concerning the king's cause, Master Reynold Pole *hath written a book*, much contrary to the king's purpose, with such wit, that it appeareth that he might be for his wisdom of the council to the king's grace ; and of such eloquence, that if it were set forth and known to the common people, I suppose it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary. The principal intent whereof is, that the king's grace should be content to *commit his great cause to the judgment of the pope ; wherein, me seemeth, he lacketh much judgment*. But he [per]suadeth that with such goodly eloquence, both of words and sentence, that he were like to persuade many ; *but me he persuadeth in that point nothing at all*. But in many other things he satisfieth me very well. The sum whereof I shall shortly rehearse.

“ First, he sheweth the cause wherefore he had never pleasure to intromit himself in this cause : and that was the trouble which was like to ensue to this realm thereof by diversity of titles. Whereof what hurt may come, we have had examples in our fathers' days by the titles of Lancaster and York. And whereas God hath given many noble gifts unto the king's grace, as well as of body and mind, as also of fortune ; yet this exceedeth all other, that in him all titles do meet and come together, and this realm is restored to tranquillity and peace : so oweth he to provide that this land fall not again to the foresaid misery and trouble, which may come as well by the people of this realm, which think surely that they have an heir already with whom they all be well content, and would be sorry to have any other ; (and it would be hard to persuade them to take any other, leaving her ;) as also by the emperor, which is a man of so great power, the queen being his aunt, the princess his niece, whom he so much doth, and ever hath favoured. And where he heard reasons for the king's party ; that he was moved of God's law, which doth straitly forbid, and that with many great threats, that no man shall marry his brother's wife ; and

as for the people, it [be]longeth not to their judgment, and yet it is to be thought that they will be content, when they shall know that the ancient doctors of the Church, and the determinations of so many great Universities, be of the king's sentence ; and as concerning the emperor, if he be so unrightful that he will maintain an unjust cause, yet God will never fail them that stand upon his party, and for any thing will not transgress his commandments ; and beside that, we shall not lack the aid of the French king, which, partly for the league that he hath made with us, and partly for the displeasure and old grudge which he beareth toward the emperor, would be glad to have occasion to be avenged ;—these reasons he bringeth for the king's party against his own opinion.

“ To which he maketh answer in this manner :—First, as touching the law of God, he thinketh that if the king were pleased to take the contrary part, he might as well justify that, and have as good ground of the Scripture therefore, as for that part which he now taketh. And yet if he thought the king's party never so just, and that this his marriage were undoubtedly against God's pleasure, then he could not deny but it should be well done for the king to refuse this marriage, and to take another wife : but that he should be a doer therein, and a setter forward thereof, he could never find in his heart. And yet he granteth that he hath no good reason therefore, but only affection, which he beareth and of duty oweth unto the king's person. For in so doing he should not only weake[n], yea, and utterly take away the princess's title, but also he must needs accuse the most and chief part of all the king's life hitherto, which hath been so infortunate to live more than twenty years in a matrimony so shameful, so abominable, so bestial and against nature, if it be so as the books which defend the king's party do say ; that the abomination thereof is naturally written and graven in every man's heart, so that no excusation can be made by ignorance. And thus to accuse the noble nature of the king's grace, and to take away the title of his succession, he could never find in his heart, were the king's cause

never so good ; which he doth [ac]knowledge to be only affection.

“ Now as concerning the people, he thinketh [it] not possible to satisfy them by learning or preaching ; but as they now do begin to hate priests, this shall make them rather to hate much more both learned men, and also the name of learning, and bring them in abomination of every man. For what loving men toward their prince would gladly hear, that either their prince should be so infortunate, to live so many years in matrimony so abominable ; or that they should be taken and counted so bestial, to approve and take for lawful, and that so many years, a matrimony so unlawful, and so much against nature, that every man in his heart naturally doth abhor it ? And that [which] is more, when they hear this matrimony dispraised and spoken against, neither by their own minds, nor by reasons that be made against this matrimony, can they be persuaded to grudge against the matrimony but for any thing they do grudge against the divorce. Wherein the people should show themselves no men, but beasts. And that the people should be persuaded hereto, he cannot think it.

“ And as for the Universities, he thinketh and sayeth, that many times they be led by affections, which is well known to every man ; and [he] wisheth that they never did err in their determinations. Then he sheweth with how great difficulty the Universities were brought to the king's party. And, moreover, against the authority of the Universities he setteth the authority of the king's father and his council, the queen's father and his council, and the pope and his council. Then he cometh again to the pope, and the emperor, and French king. And first the pope, how much he is adversary unto the king's purpose, he hath showed divers tokens already, and not without a cause. For if he should consent to the king's purpose, he must needs do against his predecessors, and also restrain his own power more than it hath been in time past, which rather he would be glad to extend ; and moreover he should set great sedition in many realms,

as in Portugal, of which king the emperor hath married one sister, and the Duke of Savoy the other. Then he extollethe the power of the emperor, and diminish[eth] the aid of the French king toward us, saying, that the emperor, without drawing of any sword, but only by forbidding the course of merchandise into Flanders and Spain, may put this realm into great damage and ruin. And what if he will thereto draw his sword, wherein is so much power, [who,] being of much less power than he is now, subdued the pope and the French king? And as for the Frenchmen, they never used to keep league with us but for their own advantage, and we can never find in our hearts to trust them. And yet if now, contrary to their old nature, they keep their league, yet our nation shall think themselves in miserable condition, if they shall be compelled to trust upon their aid which always have been our mortal enemies, and never we loved them, nor they us. And if the French men have any suspicion, that this new matrimony shall not continue, then we shall have no succour of them, but upon such conditions as shall be intolerable to this realm. And if they, following their old nature and custom, then do break league with us, then we shall look for none other, but that England shall be a prey between the emperor and them.

“After all this he cometh to the point to save the king’s honour, saying, that the king standeth even upon the brink of the water, and yet he may save all his honour; but if he put forth his foot but one step forward, all his honour is drowned. And the means, which he hath devised to save the king’s honour, is this —

“The rest of this matter I must leave to show your lordship by mouth, when I speak with you, which I purpose, God willing, shall be to-morrow, if the king’s grace let me not. Now the bearer maketh such haste, that I can write no more, but that I hear no word from my benefice; nor Master Russel’s servant is not yet returned again, whereof I do not a little marvel.

“The king and my lady Anne rode yesterday to Windsor, and this night they be looked for again at Hampton

Court. God be their guide, and preserve your lordship to his most pleasure.

"From Hampton Court this xiii. day of June, [1531.]

"Your most humble beadsman,

"THOMAS CRANMER."

Probably, on his leaving Rome in 1530, Cranmer may have travelled homeward through Germany, and then submitted to scholars and divines of that country the great question of the divorce. But it is more probable, that his address among the Imperialists was not tried till soon after the date of this letter to Lord Wiltshire; the pope at this time openly opposing the divorce, and the emperor encouraging the opposition. The letters of Ecolampadius and others, in the August and September of 1531, show that the subject was then under their especial consideration; and we may suppose that the ambassador, newly arrived from the English court, occasioned it. Cranmer's present embassy has been thus described. "He was sent forward ambassador to the emperor, then being in expedition against the Turk, at Vienna; and, upon the emperor's return homeward through Germany, he had in his journey as well conference with divers learned men, as with certain of the emperor's council, who, being of the contrary opinion, were by him allured to favour the king's cause."

But of such the number, though not the character, was inconsiderable. Among them was the celebrated Cornelius Agrippa; who for his public declaration, that the marriage of Henry was invalid, has been reported to have been cast into prison by the emperor, and there to have died; though his death indeed was not in a prison.

From the Lutheran divines, with whom he principally conversed, Cranmer obtained but few suffrages. With Osiander, however, the celebrated pastor at Nuremberg, he became very intimate. Their friendship, which the political measure had helped to form, was strengthened by the niece of this divine accepting the hand of Cranmer, about the beginning of the year 1532. Osiander then published a book concerning incestuous marriages, which,

because it determined in favour of Henry's divorce, was by the Imperial command suppressed. He drew up a form, too, for the further process of the divorce. By the encouragement of Cranmer he completed also his *Harmony of the Gospels*. With the German Reformers, who held that the profession of celibacy was unnatural and not obligatory, Cranmer, we see, had now practically assented. Thus, too, he was leading the way to recovery of right in his own country; to that which has been a circumstance of the utmost advantage to the morals and manners of society, the restoration of the ancient and apostolic usage of the Christian Church, in allowing the priesthood to marry.

But besides Osiander, there were other illustrious individuals in the Germanic States consulted upon the divorce, of whom the principal were Erasmus, Ecolampadius, Bucer, Zuinglius, Calvin, Luther, and Melancthon. The first, with his usual caution, declined a public declaration, overawed by the circumstance of his living within the dominions of the emperor: but is believed to have been on the side of the king. The second hesitated not to affirm as Cranmer thought and wished. Bucer was not of this opinion. Zuinglius at large denied the dispensing power of the pope in the present case. Calvin at once decided that the king was justified in his view of the intended separation. But of Melancthon the sentiments have been variously related, although his latest biographer tells us, that the divines of Wittenberg drew up a paper disapproving of the divorce, and that Melancthon fully concurred with Luther upon the subject. Luther, indeed, declared, that the divorce would be a greater violation of sacred duty than the marriage had been. In Germany, generally speaking, the divorce was certainly not popular.

But upon other subjects than that of the divorce, the political abilities of Cranmer were also now employed in that country. He was instructed to make a secret visit to the court of Saxony, to deliver letters both to the elector and the other princes who had joined the Protestant league, and to assure them, by conversation also, of his sovereign's friendship. Henry was disposed, like the French king, to

foment between these confederates and the emperor any ill humour. This was his project of revenge for the Imperial opposition to the divorce. But it had no important result. The pacification of Nuremberg, indeed, was effected within a few days after this apparent effort to impede it; and the ambassador had to relate to his sovereign, instead of dissension, the principal terms of that memorable treaty. The scheme of Henry, perhaps, was never noticed by the emperor. Cranmer, indeed, adds in his dispatch to Henry, that Charles expected from him assistance against the Turks. But this was many weeks after the pacification. The ambassador was now on his way to meet the emperor at Lintz; and thus, with his habitual modesty and prudence, he details part of his services :—

“ To the King’s Highness,—Pleaseth it your Highness to understand, that at my last solicitation unto Monsieur Grandville for an answer of the contract of merchandise between the merchants of your grace’s realm, and the merchants of the emperor’s Low Countries; the said Monsieur Grandville showed me, that forasmuch as the Diet concerning the said contract was lately held in Flanders, where the Queen of Hungary is governatrice, the emperor thought good to do nothing therein without her advice, but to make answer by her, rather than by me. Wherefore it may please your grace no further to look for answer of me herein, but of the queen, unto whom the whole answer is committed.

“ Moreover, when the said Monsieur Grandville inquired of me if I had any answer of the aid and subsidy which the emperor desired of your grace, I reported unto him fully your grace’s answer according to my instructions, sent unto me by your grace’s servant, William Paget. Which answer he desired me to deliver him in writing, that he might refer the same truly unto the emperor; and so I did. Nevertheless the emperor, now at his departing, hath had such importune business, that Monsieur Grandville assigned me to repair unto the emperor again at Lintz; for there, he said, I shall have an answer again in writing.

“ The French ambassador and I with all diligence

do make preparation to furnish ourselves with waggons, horses, tents, and other things necessary to our voyage. But it will be at the least eight or ten days before we can be ready to depart hence. Yet we trust to be at Lintz before the emperor; for he will tarry by the way at Passau x. or xij. days.

"As for the Turk, he resideth still at Hungary, in the same place, environed upon all parties; whereof I wrote unto your highness in my last letters. And the emperor departed from it back toward Vienna the second day of this month by land, not coming by this town. But the same day the king Ferdinand departed from this town by water; and at Passau, xiiij. miles hence, they shall meet, and so pass forth unto Lintz, which is the midway from hence into Vienna. And there the emperor will tarry to counsel what he will do; and there all the ambassadors shall know his pleasure, as Monsieur Grandville showed me.

"I have sent herewith unto your grace the copy of the emperor's proclamation concerning a General Council, and a Reformation to be had in Germany for the controversies of the faith. Also I have sent the tax of all the states of the empire, how many soldiers every man is limited to for the aid against the Turk; wherein your grace may perceive, that the greatest prince in Germany (only the Duke of Burgundy and Austria except) is not appointed above 120 horsemen and 554 footmen.

"Thus our Lord evermore have your highness in his preservation and governance. From Regensberg the iiij. day of September, [1532.]

"Your grace's most humble subject,

"Chaplain, and beadsman,

"THOMAS CRANMER."

His residence in Germany was now drawing to its close. There he had diligently watched the progress of that powerful opposition to the Church of Rome, which was then the theme of all Europe. To the new doctrines, ere he returned, he had, perhaps, become almost an entire convert. Leading principles in them he had long

before approved. But the great sacramental error he as yet retained. The Protestant cause, however, had his heart. To the proofs of this regard we shall henceforward be led, in the objections which he fearlessly advanced against Romanism ; in the pains which he bestowed upon forming the services and tenets of our Church ; and in the encouragement which he gave to all, both of his own and other countries, who conducted or favoured the Reformation. Such were his noble labours, as study and reflection by degrees aroused him to lay the foundations of our religious liberties. "It is lawful and commendable for a man," said he, "*to learn from time to time* ; and to go from his ignorance, that he may receive and embrace the truth."

II.

ADVANCED TO THE PRIMACY—HENRY'S DIVORCE AND
MARRIAGE—DEATH OF ANNE BOLEYN.

A.D. 1532—1536.

CRANMER was still in Germany, where he had entered for the second time into the married state, when the primacy became vacant by the death of Archbishop Warham. The king seems immediately to have turned his thoughts to Cranmer, as the fittest person to occupy this important post. Hence his orders were despatched to Germany for Cranmer's immediate return. But this really humble and unambitious man, who some have even recently termed "a supple courtier," evidently desired no such advancement. The bent of his mind was, as he afterwards tells us, towards "some smaller living, where he might more quietly follow his book."

Hence, instead of flying to England, as any ambitious man would have done, eagerly to avail himself of the king's favour, and fearful that some change in his patron's purposes might take place, Cranmer lingered long in Germany, hoping that in his absence this lofty prize might be grasped by some more aspiring hand. When standing before the Commissioners of Queen Mary at Oxford, many years after, he referred to this fact, as a circumstance which none could dispute, saying, "I protest before you all, that never man came more unwillingly to a bishopric than I did to this; insomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey full seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the meantime." He added further, that, being very

sorry to leave his study, he represented to the king that certain important matters rendered his longer stay in Germany desirable. And when, on his return, he found the archbishopric still kept vacant for him, he endeavoured, by means of his friends, to shift it off, praying for some smaller preferment, where he might quietly prosecute his studies.

These statements are controverted by no one, but they are confirmed by the known fact of his recent marriage. No one really desiring and looking forward to the primacy, would have encumbered himself with a partner who might easily, in those days, have proved an insuperable obstacle to the accomplishment of his wishes.

And when he found that the purpose of Henry was not to be shaken by his earnest entreaties, "he further manifested," remarks Mr. Le Bas, "his reluctance, by attempting to place another obstacle in the way of the king's design,—an obstacle which he probably hoped would be quite insurmountable. He declared that he could receive the archbishopric only from the king himself, as supreme governor of the Church of England (a character which had already been recognised by the Convocation), and not of the pope, who, in his judgment, had no authority within the realm. This was an impediment which compelled Henry to pause. The difficulty, however, was referred to civilians of eminence, who submitted that the affair might be adjusted, without an open and final rupture with Rome (for which Henry was not then prepared), by the expedient of a solemn protest, to be made by the archbishop on the day of his consecration. By this protest, it was suggested, he might declare that he did not hold himself bound by this oath to anything against the law of God, the realm of England, or the prerogatives of the sovereign; or restrained by it from taking part in the reformation of the Church of England.

In this arrangement Cranmer, though most reluctantly, acquiesced. He lived in an age when, to decline an office imposed by the sovereign, was regarded as an act of almost treasonable contumacy. He had, nevertheless, already stood out, for four months, against the wishes of the king :

and having now an opportunity offered him of declaring, in the face of the world, the precise extent of obligation which he conceived to be imposed upon him by his oath to the pope, he felt that it would be scarcely possible to resist any longer the importunity of his sovereign. To the very last, however, he never ceased to manifest his conviction, that the customary bulls for his investment with the primacy were altogether nugatory and worthless: and when it was proposed to him that a messenger should be despatched to Rome for those instruments, and should take the usual oath in his name, he replied, that whoever did so must take the responsibility *on his own soul*.

It does not appear that the application for the bulls in question met with the slightest difficulty at Rome. And yet the pope must have known Cranmer well. Cranmer had already contended against the papal power of dispensation, in the grand cause of the divorce. He had done this, first, openly at the Vatican. He had, subsequently, been carrying the same doctrine with him over Germany. He had further, by his own marriage, very intelligibly declared war against the discipline and policy of the Romish Church. So that, if his protest were to have been read in the ear of Clement himself, before he fixed his seal to the instruments demanded, it could have conveyed to him no new intelligence. The life and writings of Cranmer had, of themselves, been a virtual and notorious protest, to the same effect as his intended declaration at Westminster. It would, therefore, be idle to imagine that the pope was entrapped into the admission of a *secret* enemy to the primacy of England. When he sent the bulls required, he must doubtless have been aware that to refuse them would only have been to bring on a crisis, which would, inevitably, expose their insignificance.

When these documents arrived, and were delivered to Cranmer, he instantly deposited them in the hands of the king; as if to intimate that these were instruments which he himself did not consider as at all essential to the validity of his appointment, and which had been obtained purely in compliance with the royal will and pleasure. The day fixed for his consecration was the 30th of March, more

than seven months subsequently to the decease of Archbishop Warham. On that day, previously to his taking the oath to the pope, he presented and read his protestation, to the effect above mentioned, in the presence of the Royal Prothonotary, of two Doctors of Law, of one of the Royal Chaplains, and of the Official Principal of the Court of Canterbury: and he required that the protestation should be formally recorded and attested by the witnesses present. This was done, not in a 'private room,' but in the Chapter House at Westminster. At the steps of the altar in the church he again presented his protestation, declaring that he understood and took the oath according to the tenor of that protest; and required that a record should be made of this declaration, attested by the same witnesses as before. Lastly, when he was about to receive the pall, he once more proclaimed, at the altar, that he understood the oath under the limitations of the same instrument; and demanded, for the third time, that the proceeding might be solemnly attested and enrolled. It appears, therefore, that his paper was first read in the presence of official witnesses, in the place appropriated to the performance of all such public acts; that it was twice produced at the altar, in the presence of a crowded congregation; and that, at every stage of the proceeding, he insisted that his declaration should be invested with the solemnity of a public record."

These expedients were not uncommon in those days. Oaths, accompanied by protest and reservations, are continually met with in Papal Church history. In the present case, even the immediate predecessor of Cranmer, Archbishop Warham, had set him the example. This prelate had openly promoted the measures of Henry; and in order, as it would seem, to pacify his remorse for these compliances, he, too, made, what he was pleased to call, his *public* protestation: not, however, in the Chapter House of a cathedral—not before the high altar—not on a day of great public solemnity—not in the presence of a crowded congregation—but "in a certain upper chamber of his mansion;" (*in quodam superiori cubiculo, infra manerium de Lambithe.*) By this *public* protest he declares, that he did not consent to any statute that had been passed, or might

be passed, by the Parliament assembled in 1529, in derogation of the Roman Pontiff, or the Apostolic See, or to the diminution or subversion of the rights of the Church of Canterbury. And having thus provided a commodious retreat for his conscience, he consigns the documents to the secrecy of his own register.*

This state of things naturally arose from the papal usurpations. The oaths required by the pope were irreconcilable with the oaths required by the king. Of these oaths Henry had recently complained to his parliament, as so contradictory to each other, that all the prelates, who *should* be wholly his subjects, were, in truth, but half subjects; or were the pope's subjects rather than his. These are the oaths which had been taken, immemorially, without protest or explanation of any kind; and the words of which, as Bossuet is compelled virtually to allow, must always have been understood with a secret reservation, in favour of the rights of the king, and the interests of the state. The distinction, therefore, between Cranmer's conduct, and that of many other of Henry's dignitaries and prelates, is evidently this: they, in spite of their oaths to the pope, supported innovations mortally hostile to his authority: while Cranmer refused to shelter himself under any *secret* reservation; and declared, distinctly, openly, and solemnly, at his consecration, the exact sense in which he understood the customary engagement to the Bishop of Rome. By this proceeding, he placed his own rectitude in honourable contrast with the servile duplicity of his brethren. And the utmost that can possibly be said to his disparagement, is, that he *might* have followed a still *more excellent way*, by declaring to the king his inflexible resolution to reject the primacy, if the Bishop of Rome was to have any concern in his investment with it.

Very soon after Cranmer's elevation it became his duty to pronounce, officially, the sentence of divorce in King Henry's case. The Convocation gave, in April 1533, a solemn determination in favour of the king. Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to proceed according to the royal instructions. Catherine had been urged in vain to

* See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 746.

recede from her pretensions, and she persevered to the last in the same dignified resolution. The process was finally removed to Dunstable, a place in the neighbourhood of Ampthill, where she then resided. She declined appearing before the archbishop and commissioners, and was declared contumacious. Her marriage with Henry was then pronounced by Cranmer to have been contrary to the law of God, and, from the beginning, utterly invalid; and this sentence, which was given on the 23d of May, was communicated by him to his master on the same day. From that moment, the chain which bound England to the chariot wheels of the papacy was virtually snapped asunder.

The king's public marriage with Anne Boleyn took place immediately after, he having been privately married to her in January. On the 28th of May the archbishop confirmed this union by a judicial sentence, pronounced at Lambeth: and on the 29th the fortunes of Anne were brought to their highest point by the commencement of the gorgeous ceremonial, which ended in her coronation. It was on Whit-Sunday, the first of June, that she was crowned Queen of England. And, that no security might be wanting to her greatness, an Act of Parliament was passed, in the course of the next year, declaring the marriage firm and good, and the issue of it lawful.

At this period Cranmer, although he had probed and examined narrowly the papal pretensions, and had satisfied himself fully of their hollowness, was no Protestant. He still held, sincerely and devoutly, the main errors of the medieval Church. He bowed with entire submission to the mystery of transubstantiation. And when the unhappy Frith was under inquisition for his opinions respecting this mystery, Cranmer, as he himself informs us, sent repeatedly for the heretic, and endeavoured to turn him from his erroneous imaginations. All, however, was in vain: "and now," continues Cranmer, "he is at a final end with all examinations; for my Lord of London hath given sentence, and delivered him to the secular powers, where *he looketh every day to go unto the fire*. And there is likewise condemned with him, one Andrew, a tailor of London, for the said self-same opinion." Sentences like these are melan-

choly indications of the success with which the Romish discipline had so long been warring against the commonest feelings of humanity. Two men are about to be consigned to a death of hideous torment, for a conscientious adherence to their own views of the truth ; and the first minister of Christianity in the kingdom announces it to his friend, in a few brief, cold words, as if he were communicating an article of trivial and passing intelligence ! It would, of course, be most iniquitous to dwell on this circumstance, as a proof that Cranmer's nature was other than charitable and humane : for where shall we look for a public man of that period, whose feelings would "rouse and stir" at the thought of such atrocities ?

The king's contumacy to the papal authority, and his casting off the bonds by which he had so long been held, produced, of necessity, a burst of indignation at Rome. The displeasure of the pontiff and his cardinals was deeply aggravated by another measure of the king's, which seemed to cut off all hope of accommodation. In despair of obtaining justice from the pope, he had formed the resolution to appeal from his authority to that of a general council : and, in conformity with this determination, the instrument of appeal was actually drawn up, and, by his direction, presented by Bonner in person to his holiness, then resident at Marseilles. This affront was embittered by a similar appeal from the Archbishop of Canterbury, drawn up by him at the commandment of his majesty, and (as the document expresses it) by way of protection against any prejudicial process which might "be intended against him or his church." Upon these audacious symptoms of rebellion the cardinals of the Imperial faction were loud in their demand, that the arm of pontifical authority should be put forth, and that the heretical monarch should instantly be smitten down by the thunders of the Vatican. The more prudent members of the conclave, however, saw that it would be unwise to throw away a dependency like England in a fit of angry disappointment : and, in conformity with their moderate counsels, the Papal Court was contented, for the time, with a solemn sentence, pronouncing that the whole proceedings in this country, relative to the divorce,

were, from the beginning to the end of them, utterly ineffectual and void ; and that the very attempt to bring the matter to a conclusion, without the concurrence of the pope, had rightfully exposed the king to the penalty of excommunication. It was further declared that this penalty would actually be inflicted, unless all those presumptuous acts were publicly revoked and renounced, and things restored to their original condition before the ensuing month of September.

The French king employed his efforts to heal the breach, and he succeeded in obtaining from Henry a submission to the papal authority, assuring him that if the ecclesiastical supremacy were thus acknowledged, a decision might be expected in his favour. A courier was sent by Henry, with the formal submission recommended by the bishop ; and everything seemed to threaten the realm of England with a continuance of its ancient ecclesiastical servitude. These appearances of vacillation must have been observed by Cranmer with intense anxiety. It seemed as if the splendid vision, which had hitherto animated his exertions, was about to dissolve and vanish, at the very moment when his arms were stretched forth to embrace it. His terrors were happily dissipated by one of those accidents, which a grateful and religious mind is strongly disposed to invest with the character of a providential interference.

The day arrived, which was appointed for the arrival of the despatch announcing the submission of the king, but no courier from England appeared. On this the Imperial cardinals immediately renewed their clamours for a definite sentence. It was in vain that Bellay (who was then at Rome to forward the business) protested against this precipitation. It was in vain that he insisted on the probability that the delay of the express was accidental, and that the elements might be in fault, and not the King of England. These prudent suggestions were overborne by the Imperial influence, which still retained its predominance in the Romish councils. The pope was easily persuaded that the procrastination was nothing more than an expedient, for enabling Henry to proceed at leisure in his course of aggression against the apostolic see. The ques-

tion was accordingly brought before the Consistory,—a plurality of voices decided that the marriage with Catherine was good and valid,—contrary to the usual practice, the decision was concluded and confirmed in a single day ; and on the 23d of March, 1534, it was resolved that sentence of excommunication should go forth against the king, unless he consented to take back the consort, whom he had presumed to put away. Two days afterwards the messenger from England (who had been detained by contrary winds) arrived at Rome, with Henry's submission under his own hand, together with earnest entreaties from the French king that it might be favourably received !

The pontiff and his cardinals stood aghast at the apparition of the English courier ; and he and his more prudent councillors would, doubtless, have gladly retraced the step which brought them into deadly conflict with the schismatical monarch. But it was now too late. The Imperialists steadily opposed the revocation of the sentence. The decision was once more confirmed by the pontiff and his consistory, and the rupture with England became manifestly irreparable.

The parliament now soon assembled, and the ensuing year opened with proceedings which at once severed the nation from its disgraceful thralldom ; “ England for that blind and slavish obedience, which in respect of other nations she performed to the see of Rome, having been by Italians and other foreigners not unfitly termed *the pope's ass.*”

The importance of the laws that now were passed illustrates the vigilance and acuteness of the archbishop, in order to the entire abolition of the power and profits of the pontiff. In the formation of all the bills, before they were constituted Acts, and in obviating objections to them, he was the leader. The month of March, in 1534, accordingly thus witnessed the public prohibitions of all bulls, provisions, and dispensations, from the see of Rome, and of all payments hitherto made to it. It also witnessed a mitigation of the law for punishing heretics ; an acknowledgment from the clergy also that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only, together with their

promise that they would enact no new canons or constitutions without the royal assent, and with their request that, under the direction of thirty-two commissioners, to be appointed by the king, the canon law might be revised. Another of these laws directed the election of bishops to be made by license from the sovereign. But the most important of them all was that which concerned the succession to the crown, and the confirmation of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn. This statute required of all persons an oath to maintain the provisions of it; and any who should utter slander against the king, the queen, or their issue, was to suffer imprisonment with forfeiture of goods. On the last day of March the Convocation solemnly assented to what the parliament had proclaimed, in giving a negative reply to the question proposed by the archbishop, *Whether the Bishop of Rome had any greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop?* The declarations and subscriptions of the bishops and chapters of the two Universities, and of the monastic bodies, were the next public instruments that renounced the usurpation to which obedience had long been paid. And now, "as soon as Henry disclaimed the supremacy of the see, and broke off all connexion with the papal court, considerable sums," it has been forcibly observed, "were saved to the nation, of which it had been annually drained by remittances to Rome for dispensations and indulgences, by the expense of pilgrimages into foreign countries, or by the payment of annates, first-fruits, and a thousand other taxes which that artful and rapacious court levied on the credulity of mankind. The exercise of a jurisdiction different from that of the civil power, and claiming not only to be independent of it, but superior to it, a wild solecism in government, apt not only to perplex and disquiet weak minds, but tending directly to disturb society, was finally abolished. Government became more simple as well as more respectable, when no rank or character exempted any person from being amenable to the same courts as other subjects, and from being tried by the same judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the same laws."

On the 13th of April commissioners assembled at Lambeth, to tender the oath respecting the royal succession to those who resided in and near London. Thither on that day were the venerable Bishop Fisher and the learned Sir Thomas More conducted from their durance in the Tower. Their melancholy and much-to-be-lamented end soon followed. Both refused the oath. The objections of Sir Thomas were mildly required. The archbishop honoured him, and was desirous to save him from the danger that threatened him. His interposition, too, was alike humane and judicious for the aged prelate of Rochester. But having failed in friendly conversation with Sir Thomas to make him swerve from his purpose, who yet acknowledged himself to be rather shaken in it by the arguments "of so noble a prelate," the archbishop thus addressed his friend Cromwell in behalf of both the prisoners : —

"After my most hearty commendations, &c., I doubt not but you do right well remember that my lord of Rochester and Master More were contented to be sworn to the Act of the king's succession, but not to the preamble of the same. What was the cause of their refusal thereof, I am uncertain ; and they would by no means express the same. Nevertheless, it must needs be either the diminution of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, or else the reprobation of the king's first-pretensed matrimony. But if they do obstinately persist in their opinions of the preamble, yet meseemeth it should not be refused, if they will be sworn to the very act of succession, so that they will be sworn to maintain the same against all powers and potentates. For hereby shall be a great occasion to satisfy the princess dowager and the lady Mary, which do think that they should damn their souls, if they should abandon and relinquish their estates. And not only it should stop the mouths of them, but also of the emperor, and other their friends, if they give as much credence to my lord of Rochester and Master More, speaking and doing against them, as they hitherto have done, and thought that all other should have done, when they spake and did with them. And peradventure it should be a good quietation

to many other within this realm, if such men should say that the succession, comprised within the said Act, is good and according to God's laws. For then, I think, there is not one within this realm that would reclaim against it.

"And whereas divers persons either of a wilfulness will not, or of an indurate and invertible consequence can not, alter from their opinions of the king's first-pretensed marriage, (wherein they have once said their minds, and percase have a persuasion in their heads, that, if they should now vary therefrom their fame and estimation were disstained for ever,) or else of the authority of the Bishop of Rome; yet if all the said realm with one accord would apprehend the succession, in my judgment it is a thing to be amplected and embraced. Which thing, although I trust surely in God, that it shall be brought to pass, yet hereunto might not a little avail the consent and oaths of these two persons, the Bishop of Rochester and Master More, with their adherents, or rather their confederates. And if the king's pleasure so were, their said oaths might be suppressed, but when and where his highness might take some commodity by the publishing of the same.

"Thus our Lord have you ever in his conservation. From my Manor of Croydon, the xvijth day of April, [1534.]

"Your own assured ever,

"THOMAS CANTUAR."

Cranmer might well regard with feelings of trepidation the contest which was now opening. The winds of discord were, even then, beginning to rush from their confinement; and their roar might have appalled the bravest heart. Humanly speaking, Cranmer might soon have been lost in the tempest, if a more lordly spirit than his own had not controlled its fury. It was fortunate, perhaps, for the cause of this great mental revolution, that his master was one who, according to Wolsey's description of him, would rather lose half his kingdom than miss the accomplishment of his will,—one whom nothing could appal, save the destruction of the pillars that kept the firmament from falling. And yet this very attribute of Henry

was, itself, another source of difficulty and danger to those who were doomed to act in the same sphere with him. The increasing distraction of the times was bringing a change over his spirit. Six years of vexatious delay and treacherous chicanery (soon followed up, as we have seen, by an act of insult and defiance), gradually brought out the more formidable qualities of his nature. The frank, joyous, and convivial prince, was beginning to degenerate into the stern and inflexible sovereign; and to verify the saying, that he spared no man in his wrath, and no woman in his jealousy or his lust. This was the master whom Cranmer was to serve. This was the power under whose auspices he was to work out the deliverance and restoration of the English Church. He was doomed to stand by while the cradle of our spiritual independence was rocked by the hand of impetuous and capricious despotism.

Among the earliest measures which Cranmer had found it necessary to adopt, was the publication of certain restraints on the licentious abuse of the pulpit. His diocese, from its geographical position, was favourable to the introduction of the reformed opinions from the Continent; and the conflict between the new and the ancient learning was there proportionably violent. The spirit of dissension was active among his clergy. Their pulpits were often the watch-towers of a fierce controversial warfare. The injuries of Catherine, and the elevation of a youthful upstart in her place, were themes far too tempting for the advocates of the papal supremacy to resist: and the violence with which these subjects were publicly discussed by the clergy, speedily communicated itself to their still more unlettered and ignorant hearers. The consequence was, that the new queen was becoming the object of such coarse and vulgar raillery, that it became expedient to put some restraint upon this most unseemly *liberty of prophesying*.

The clerical opposition, however, did not confine itself to invective. It took the shape of treasonable conspiracy and imposture: and the diocese of Cranmer was the scene of the disgraceful exhibition. No incident in English history is better known than the story of Elizabeth Barton,

the Nun of Kent. This wretched *Pythonesse*—the *Sœur Nativité* of her day—was a native of Aldrington in Kent. Her epileptic affections were exalted by her accomplices into mystic trances. She was skilfully trained by them to utter treason in the shape of prophecy; and her mission was accredited by a “letter written in heaven,” and delivered to her by the hand of Mary Magdalene! Abel, the ecclesiastical agent of Queen Catherine, degraded himself by joining in this vile confederacy; and it is melancholy to find that such men as Warham, Fisher, and, for a time, Sir Thomas More, were dupes of the delusion. For no less than eight or nine years together had this miserable woman, and her priestly confederates, continued to assail the proceedings and character of the king; till, at length, she ventured to proclaim that he should die a villain’s death, and to fix on the day on which he should cease to reign. It was not till the extensive patronage of the papal clergy had begun to make the fraud formidably dangerous, that the original contrivers of it were sent to expiate their offences at Tyburn.

The activity of Cranmer in assisting to detect this cheat was among the earliest services rendered by him to the cause of good order and religion. His own account of the fraud is still extant in a letter to Archdeacon Hawkins, dated December 20, 1533; and, in one respect, it is eminently curious, since it serves to show that, like the impostors of the remotest times, the holy Maid of Kent was partly indebted for her success to the faculty of ventriloquism. After informing his correspondent of the great miracle wrought upon her eight years before, “by the power of God, and our Lady of Curtup Street, and of the pilgrimage established in consequence of it,” he adds:—“When she was brought thither, and laid before the image of our Lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her tongue hanging out, and her eyes being, in a manner, plucked out and laid upon her cheeks; and so, greatly disordered. *Then was there a voice heard speaking in her belly, as it had been in a tun, her lips not greatly moving*; she all that while continuing, by the space of three hours or more, in a trance. The which voice, when it told anything of the

joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof. And contrary, when it told anything of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly that it put the hearers in great fear. It spake, also, many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages, and trentals, hearing of masses, and confessions, and many such other things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again, and was perfectly whole. And so this miracle was finished, and solemnly sung, and a book written of all the whole story thereof, and put into print; which, ever since that time, hath been commonly sold, and gone abroad among all people." In a subsequent passage of his letter, the archbishop continues thus:—"Surely, I think she did marvellously stop the going forward of the king's marriage, by reason of her visions, which, she said, were of God; persuading them that came to see her how highly God was displeased therewith, and what vengeance Almighty God would take on all the favourers thereof: insomuch that she wrote letters to the pope, calling upon him, in God's behalf, to stop and let the said marriage, and to use his high and heavenly power therein, as he would avoid the great stroke of God, which then hanged over his head if he did the contrary. She also had communicated with my lord cardinal, and with my lord of Canterbury, in the matter. And, in mine opinion, with her feigned visions, and godly threatenings, she staid them very much in the matter."—"Now, about midsummer last, I, hearing of these matters, sent for this holy maid, to examine her; and, from me, she was had to Mr. Cromwell, to be further examined there. And now she confessed all, and uttered the very truth, which is this: That she never had a vision in all her life, but all that she ever said was feigned of her own imagination only, to satisfy the minds of them that resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise. By reason of which her confessions, many and divers, both religious men and others, be now in trouble, forasmuch as they consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition and also treason." He concludes this letter with the interesting intelligence that the queen was delivered of a princess on the 13th or 14th of Sep-

tember, and that he himself had the honour of being her godfather.

Henry now issued a proclamation, inciting the zeal of the bishops and clergy. It is dated June 9, 1534, and directs that "the true, mere, and sincere word of God," should be preached in the churches; that the name of the Bishop of Rome should be erased out of all liturgical books; that on every Sunday and holiday the people should be taught that the "title, style, and jurisdiction of the supreme head" appertained only to the king; and that the sheriffs of counties should be careful to notice and report to the privy council any coldness or inattention to these commands, whether by priest or prelate. The strict obedience of Cranmer was soon testified, not without his availing himself of the opportunity to aim another blow at one of the principal doctrines of the Romish Church. His sovereign, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of that Church as fiercely as he attacked its jurisdiction. The primate of his realm now fearlessly arrayed himself against the papal tenet which maintains remission of sins upon other terms than God has prescribed, and denies it upon those which Christianity proposes. His influence over Henry was at this time certainly great, and therefore no royal resentment followed. We will hear the archbishop himself in 1535. Referring to the king's proclamation, "commanding all the prelates of your grace's realm, that they, with all acceleration and expedition, should do their diligence, every one in his diocese, fully to persuade your people of the Bishop of Rome's authority that it is but a false and unjust usurpation, and that your grace of very right and by God's law is the supreme head of this Church of England, next immediately unto God; I," he says, "to accomplish your grace's commandment, incontinent upon my return from Winchester (knowing that all the country about Otford and Knowle, where my most abode was, were sufficiently instructed in those matters already), came up into these parts of East Kent only, by preaching to persuade the people in the said two articles; and in mine own church at Canterbury, because I was informed that that town in

those two points was least persuaded of all my diocese, I preached there two sermons myself. And, as it then chanced, Dr. Leighton was present at my first sermon, being then your grace's visitor ; of whom, if it so please your grace, you may hear the report [of] what I preached.

"The scope and effect of both my sermons stood in three things. First, I declared that the Bishop of Rome was not God's vicar in earth, as he was taken. And although it is so taught these three or four hundred years, yet it is done by means of the Bishop of Rome, who compelled men by oaths so to teach, to the maintenance of his authority, contrary to God's word. And here I declared by what means and craft the Bishop of Rome obtained such usurped authority. Second, because the see of Rome was called *Sancta sedes Romana*, and the bishop was called *Sanctissimus Papa*, and men's consciences peradventure could not be quiet to be separated from so holy a place, and from God's most holy vicar ; I showed the people that this thing ought nothing to move them, for it was but a holiness in name. For indeed there was no such holiness at Rome. And hereupon I took occasion to declare his glory and the pomp of Rome, the covetousness, the unchaste living, and the maintenance of all vices. Third, I spake against the Bishop of Rome's laws, which he called *divinas leges* and *sacros canones*, and makes them equal with God's law. And here I declared that many of the laws were very contrary, and some of them, which were good and laudable, yet they were not of such holiness as he would make them ; that is, to be taken as God's laws, or *to have remission of sins by observing them*. And here I said, that so many of his laws as were good, men ought not to condemn or despise them, and wilfully to break them. For those that be good your grace hath received as laws of your realm, until such time as others should be made ; and therefore, as laws of your realm, they must be observed, and not condemned. And here I spake as well of the ceremonies of the Church, as of the foresaid laws—that they ought neither to be rejected or despised, nor yet to be observed with this opinion that they of themselves make men holy, or *that they remit sins*. For, *seeing that*

our sins be remitted by the death of our Saviour Christ Jesus, I said it was too much injury to Christ to impute the remission of our sins to any laws or ceremonies of man's making. Now, the laws and ceremonies of the Church, at their first making, were ordained for that intent. But as the common laws of your grace's realm be not made to remit sins, nor no man doth observe them to that intent, but for a common commodity, and for a good order and quietness to be observed among your subjects; even so were the laws and ceremonies first instituted in the Church for a good order, and for remembrances of many good things, *but not for remission of our sins.* And though it be good to observe them well, for that intent they were first ordained; yet it is not good, but a contumely unto Christ, to observe them with this opinion, *that they remit sins, or that the very bare observation of them in itself is a holiness before God;* although they be remembrances of many holy things, or a disposition unto goodness. And even so do the laws of your grace's realm dispose men unto justice, unto peace, and other true and perfect holiness. Wherefore I did conclude for a general rule, that the people ought to observe them, as they do the laws of your grace's realm, and with *no more opinion of holiness or remission of sin* than the other common laws of your grace's realm.

“Though my two sermons were long, yet I have written briefly unto your highness the sum of them both. And I was informed, by sundry reports, that the people were glad that they heard so much as they did; until such time as the Prior of the Black Friars at Canterbury preached a sermon as it was thought, and reported, clean contrary unto all the three things which I had preached before. For as touching the first part, which I had preached against the erroneous doctrine of the Bishop of Rome's power; which error was, that by God's law he should be God's vicar here in earth; the prior would not name the Bishop of Rome, but under colour spake generally, that the Church of Christ never erred. And as touching the second part, where I spake of the vices of the bishops of Rome; thereto the prior said, that he would not slander the bishops of Rome. And he said openly to me in a good audience, that he knew

no vices by none of the bishops of Rome. And he said also openly, that I preached uncharitably when I said that these many years I had daily prayed unto God that I might see the power of Rome destroyed, and that I thanked God that I had now seen it in this realm. And yet in my sermon I declared the cause wherefore I so prayed. For I said that I perceived the see of Rome work so many things contrary to God's honour, and the wealth of this realm ; and I saw no hope of amendment, so long as that see reigned over us ; and for this cause only I had prayed unto God continually, that we might be separated from that see, and for no private malice or displeasure that I had either to the bishop or the see of Rome. But this seemed an uncharitable prayer to the prior, that the power of Rome should be destroyed. And as for the third part, where I preached against the laws of the Bishop of Rome, that they ought not to be taken as God's laws, nor to be esteemed so highly as he would have them ; the prior, craftily leaving out the name of the Bishop of Rome, preached, that the laws of the Church be equal with God's laws. These things he preached, as it is proved both by sufficient witness, and also by his own confession.

"I leave the judgment hereof unto your grace and to your council, whether this were a defence of the Bishop of Rome or not. And I only, according to my bounden duty, have reported the truth of the fact. But, in mine opinion, if he had spoken nothing else, yet whosoever saith, that the Church never erred, maintaineth the Bishop of Rome's power. For if that were not erroneous, that was taught of his power, that he is Christ's vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, spiritual and temporal, and that all people must believe that *de necessitate salutis* ; and that whosoever doth anything against the see of Rome is a heretic ; and that *he hath authority also in purgatory ; with such other many false things, which were taught in times past to be articles of our faith* ;—if these things were not erroneous, yea, and errors in the faith, then must needs your grace's laws be erroneous that pronounce the Bishop of Rome to be of no more power by God's law than other bishops, and them to be traitors that defend the contrary.

This is certain, that whosoever saith that the Church never erred, must either deny that the Church ever taught any such errors of the Bishop of Rome's power, and then they speak against that which all the world knoweth, and all books written of that matter these three or four hundred years do testify; or else they must say, that the said errors be none errors, but truths. And then it is both treason and heresy.

"At my first examination of him, which was before Christmas, he said that he preached not against me, nor that I had preached anything amiss. But now he saith that I preached amiss in very many things, and that he purposely preached against me. And this he reporteth openly. By which words I am marvellously slandered in these parts. And for this cause I beseech your grace that I may not have the judgment of the cause, forasmuch as he taketh me for a party; but that your grace would commit the hearing thereof unto my Lord Privy Seal, or else to associate unto me some other persons at your grace's pleasure, that we may hear the case jointly together.

"If this man, who hath so highly offended your grace, and preached against me openly, being ordinary and metropolitan of this province; and that, in such matters as concern the misliving and the laws of the Bishop of Rome; and that, also, within mine own Church; if he, I say, be not looked upon, I leave unto your grace's prudence to expend what example this may be unto others with like colour to maintain the Bishop of Rome's authority; and also of what estimation I shall be reputed hereafter, and what credence shall be given unto my preaching, whatsoever I shall say hereafter.

"I beseech your grace to pardon me of my long and tedious writing; for I could not otherwise set the matter forth plain. And I most heartily thank your grace for the stag which your grace sent unto me from Windsor forest; which if your grace knew for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many ways it did me service, I am sure you would think it much the better bestowed. Thus our Lord have your highness always in his preservation

and governance. From Ford, the xxvj. day of August [1535].

“Your grace’s most humble

“Chaplain and Beadsman,

“T. CANTUAR.”

Of the preceding occurrence no further account has come down to us.

The parliament, which had adjourned after their eminent and invaluable labours in March, 1534, again met on the 3d of November following. The regal supremacy was then again asserted, and the privileges and jurisdiction of the highest ecclesiastical authority, together with the first-fruits of benefices, were declared to belong to the king. The continuance of suffragan bishops in this country was the provision of another statute, to which the archbishop not long afterwards conformed, in consecrating an auxiliary with the title of Suffragan of Dover.

In 1535 Cranmer resolved upon a visitation of his whole province, in the character of Metropolitan. The general practice of such provincial visitations had been suspended for a century ; and there were numbers among the clergy extremely unwilling to see it revived, more especially under such auspices. Nevertheless, Cranmer persevered. He was, doubtless, anxious for an opportunity of promoting, throughout his province, the doctrine of the royal supremacy,—of closely inspecting the conduct of the bishops and other dignitaries,—and of correcting the superstitious practices of their cathedrals and parish churches. In the preceding year, 1534, he had already exercised his metropolitan privilege by visiting the diocese of Norwich. This diocese, it appears, was in a state of deplorable disorder, which demanded the vigorous interference of the primate. For a time the aged but contumacious bishop sturdily resisted these proceedings ; but was at last brought to submission by the firmness of his superior. An opposition at least equally vexatious awaited the archbishop, from the jealous and crafty spirit that presided over the diocese of Winchester. Fortified with the license of his sovereign, the archbishop despatched his monition to that prelate,—the

memorable Stephen Gardiner ; and the immediate consequence was a complaint to the king, on the part of the bishop, against this unreasonable and needless exercise of power. In this remonstrance Gardiner represented that his diocese had been visited by Archbishop Warham five years before — that so speedy a repetition of this measure would expose his clergy to an oppressive expense — and, lastly, that the language of the official process conveyed an affront to the supreme authority of the king, since it claimed for the archbishop the title of *Primate of all England*. The veriest infatuation could not have suggested a more feeble or contemptible objection. The title had been immemorially used by the archbishops of Canterbury ; it had never been thought injurious to the supremacy of the pope ; and nothing but the blindest malice would venture to suggest that the same title could now be injurious to the supremacy of the king. Besides, till the present moment, the offensive and dangerous tendency of the style had never been discovered by this keen-sighted remonstrant. His care for the royal dignity had slept, until it was awakened by the impending visitation. And, as for the burden it would lay upon the diocese, it was very easy to show that this objection, if allowed, must have intercepted all the visitations which had actually occurred there within the last ten years, and would intercept all which might be attempted in future. These points are amply insisted upon by Cranmer in a long letter on the subject, addressed by him to Secretary Cromwell ; in which he affirms, that if all bishops were as indifferent as he was to mere names and titles, the king's highness would find but little difficulty in the satisfactory adjustment of such matters.

But the primate found in the Bishop of London, Dr. Stokesley, another adversary quite as intractable as Gardiner, and armed with an objection of greater plausibility. In the monition of the archbishop he was styled the *Legate of the Apostolic See* ; a title, it must be confessed, extremely unbecoming in a prelate who had solemnly abjured all papal authority, and whose whole life was one continued protest against it. This title, however, like the other, had for

ages belonged to the archbishops of Canterbury, who, by virtue of their primacy, were regarded as *native legates* of the pope; and Cranmer, doubtless, valued it about as much as our Protestant kings valued the title of Defender of the Faith, and kept it purely as a formulary part of his official style. A single word of friendly suggestion would instantly have produced, on his part, an application to the king for permission to lay it aside; and some time afterwards it was, very properly, omitted altogether, and the title of *Metropolitan and Primate* substituted for it. The ostensible claim of legatine dignity, however, afforded a valuable opening for perverse opposition. The occasion was eagerly seized by Stokesley, who did not submit to the intrusion of his metropolitan till he had entered a formal protest against it on his own register,—not being allowed to do it on that of the archbishop. In this document he denounces the use of this obnoxious form; and, moreover, appeals against the suspension of all other ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the visitation—a power which, yet, had been uniformly exercised by all the predecessors of Cranmer!

Another occasion soon presented itself to the Bishop of London for insulting Cranmer, and obstructing his designs. From the first moment of his advancement, the archbishop was impatient for the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and in December, 1534, he had actually prevailed on the Convocation to frame an address to the king, beseeching him to decree that the Bible should be translated into English, and that the task should be assigned to such honest and learned men as his highness should be pleased to nominate. It seems that the Romish prejudices of Henry were not strong enough to resist an appeal, which tended, in its obvious consequences, to strengthen his hands against the papal power. In pursuance of this design, Cranmer divided Tindal's translation of the New Testament into nine or ten parts, which he distributed among the most learned bishops of the time, requiring that each of them should send back his portion, carefully corrected, by an appointed day. With this injunction every man punctually complied, with the exception of Stokesley,

whose share of the work was the Acts of the Apostles. He had offered not a syllable of objection to the task when first it was proposed to him ; but, when Cranmer sent to him for his part, he made the following insolent reply :—" I marvel much what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, and in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour on my portion, and never will ; and, therefore, my lord of Canterbury shall have his book again ; for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error."

Incidents like these are far from unimportant in a life of Cranmer. They exemplify the multiplied vexations and impediments which were scattered in his path towards the spiritual deliverance of his country. He was surrounded by brethren whose *heart was not right with his heart* in the work of reformation ; and he was watched by a sovereign intent on the consolidation of his recently-acquired power, yet secretly attached to the traditional doctrines, and sometimes disquieted, even to exasperation, by the troubles and distractions incident to his new position. It must have required a spirit of rare equanimity and patience to conduct any human being in safety over a way so rugged as that which was now to be trodden by the archbishop ; and a just estimate of his transcendent merits and services can never be formed by those who will not keep steadily in view the difficulties which assailed him at every step of his progress.

Various efforts were made, in the course of the year, to form an alliance between Henry and the German princes. They were naturally desirous of the accession of so commanding a name as that of Henry of England ; and he felt it desirable to strengthen himself as much as possible by the public opinion of Europe, under the peculiar circumstances of his struggle with Rome. Pius III., who now filled the papal chair, was a pontiff of a much more decisive and impetuous character than his predecessor. On the death of Clement, the conflict ceased altogether to resemble a mere personal misunderstanding between two recriminating individuals. To Pius, the execution of More, and

especially of Fisher, appeared to be no less than the signal of implacable warfare. In his view, it scattered to the winds all hope of an accommodation ; so that nothing, as he conceived, now remained for him, but to call forth the thunder out of his treasures. Accordingly, on the 30th of August, 1535, there was executed at the Vatican that celebrated bull which then made *all ears to tingle*, and which, to this hour, speaks in the deepest tone of warning to Protestants, and covers with confusion the advocates of the apostolic see. It has been found convenient, by certain of the papal writers, to assimilate this edict to the proclamation of an indignant liege lord against his rebellious vassal ; as if its object were merely to revive the *feudatory* claim which was established in the reign of John ! The reader will judge whether its language resembles that which was ever heard from the most arbitrary feudal sovereign. It begins by reminding Henry of his enormities in repudiating Catherine, espousing Anne Boleyn, and enacting laws in derogation of the papal supremacy. Then, after referring to the censures pronounced by Clement, it summons the king and his accomplices to appear within sixty days before the pontiff, on pain of excommunication, and of exclusion from Christian burial in the event of their death. In case of their disobedience, it lays an interdict on public worship and on every species of religious ministration. It pronounces illegitimate the issue of Anne Boleyn, and declares her posterity incapable of the rights of property, or the enjoyment of office or dignity. It absolves the subjects of Henry from their fealty and allegiance. It disqualifies his abettors for giving testimony, and for making wills or conveyances, and, in short, for exercising any civil right. It forbids the faithful to hold any sort of intercourse with him or his adherents. It commands his clergy to leave the realm, and forbids the military to stir in his defence. It prohibits all Christian powers from entering into treaty or confederacy with the king, and dissolves all such engagements as may previously have been made. It charges the nobility and gentry to take up arms against their sovereign, and authorises all who do so to seize the property of their adversaries, and to reduce their persons to slavery. It

enjoins the publication of these censures with the solemnity of tolling bells and extinguished tapers. And lastly, it ordains that the bull should be affixed to the gates of Bruges, Tournay, and Dunkirk; and that this should be deemed a promulgation as effective as if it were personally read by all whom it might concern!

Three years were permitted to elapse before this furious instrument was finally and officially sent forth. It was hoped that the very *rumour* of it would be sufficient to prostrate the spirit of the delinquent, and that his penitence, or, at least, his outward submission, would intercept the *blast* which otherwise must smite him down. In the interval, the pontiff circulated a report that, in the event of Henry's continued obstinacy, his kingdom would be *given to another*, and that the chosen substitute would be some German prince, who was free from all suspicion of heresy or schism. These invitations to rebellion produced an effect precisely the reverse of that which was contemplated by him who issued them. They animated the king to more vigorous exertions than ever in defence of his recently established prerogative, and prepared him for more daring assaults on the Romish doctrine and discipline than he otherwise, perhaps, would have endured to think of. The country was enlightened by a multitude of publications relative to the great controversy that was now in progress; and the Continental powers were disabused by copious and elaborate statements relative to the points at issue between England and Rome. So that it may be truly said, that the arrogance and infatuation of pontiffs and of cardinals were among the most potent of Cranmer's auxiliaries in working out the independence of his country.

It was in this same year that Cranmer had the satisfaction of consecrating Latimer to the see of Worcester, and Shaxton to that of Salisbury. Of a name so known and honoured as that of Latimer little need be said in this place, except that he remained *faithful unto death* to the cause in which he was engaged. The memory of Shaxton cannot be contemplated with so much complacency. At this period, indeed, he was an ardent, and, so far, a valuable ally. He even vaunted that he would give way to none

but the primate and Latimer, either in diligence and ability, or in care for the advancement of the true religion. This boastful declaration indicates, in some degree, the character of the man. There was vanity, caprice, and precipitation, mixed up with his zeal: it is, therefore, the less surprising to find him afterwards unable to endure the terrors of persecution. Several other promotions were likewise effected by the influence of the primate, all of which were more or less favourable to his designs; though there still remained on the bench a formidable proportion of open or secret hostility, ready to array itself at any moment against all further improvement.

About the same time Cranmer had the still further assistance afforded him, of the nomination of Cromwell to the high office of vicegerent in all ecclesiastical affairs. It was fortunate for the archbishop that the prodigious powers of the vicegerency were thus entrusted to one whose energies were devoted to many of the same objects for which he was himself incessantly labouring, and whose policy committed him to an inveterate conflict with the abuses of the papacy. The first application, however, of this enormous force was of a nature which must, probably, have agitated the cautious primate with considerable alarm. It was directed with its full sway against the monastic system of England. It was already quite notorious that the religious houses were among the most substantial supports of the papal domination; and it was, moreover, certain, that the secular clergy had ample cause to regard them with bitter jealousy and aversion. Their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction had reduced the ordinary ministers of religion to comparative insignificance; and their shameless appropriation of rectories had consigned a large proportion of the parochial incumbents to poverty, and, consequently, to ignorance and to contempt. In addition to these delinquencies the vicegerent had, doubtless, suggested to his master another offence still more inexcusable. Their wealth was supposed to be enormous: and it would be no difficult matter to persuade a prodigal and vain-glorious monarch that their revenues might be applied to much better purposes than the support of consumers, who were

either idle and unprofitable, or who could have no other motives for activity, but the excitements of superstition or disaffection. Cromwell had already the advantage of some practice in this line of occupation. He had been employed by Wolsey, about the year 1525, to expedite the suppression of certain small monasteries and priories, preparatory to the foundation of Christchurch, Oxford. In this business he had shown himself "forward and industrious," to a degree which, as Foxe informs us, "had procured him much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some, also, of noble calling about the king." He had now a much more magnificent field for the exercise of his powers; and it must be allowed that he addressed himself to his work with exemplary vigour and dexterity. The first step towards the demolition of the monastic establishments, was, if possible, to render them infamous. This object was sufficiently attained by the first visitation of the religious houses. The result of the inquisition is well known. The scenes which it disclosed (though, doubtless, in many instances represented to the public with gross exaggeration) were precisely such as might be anticipated by any one possessing the slightest acquaintance with human nature. The retreats of "fugitive and cloistered virtue" were sometimes found to be haunted by those vices, which thrive most rankly in the absence of all salutary inspection and control, and which, too frequently, rush into the space which is left unoccupied with the active duties of life. And, what was, if possible, still more deeply to be deplored and condemned, the ministers of religion were frequently unmasked, as the actors in a system of puerile and despicable fraud. The disclosure thus made most effectually answered its purpose. It dissipated the charm which had hovered for ages over these venerable sanctuaries, and prepared the national mind for the sweeping forfeiture which was soon to follow.

In the next year the work of confiscation began. The report of the inquisitors was presented to the Legislature, and was speedily followed by the suppression of all the monasteries which possessed an annual revenue not exceeding 200*l*. The proceeds of this spoliation were placed at

the disposal of the king ; and afterwards, in 1537, the *Court of Augmentations* was instituted, for the application of this new treasure to the exigencies of the crown, and for the adjustment of all matters arising out of the transfer of such an amount of property. No less than 376 religious houses were dissolved at a single blow. A vast mass of ignorance, want, and disaffection, was thus suddenly thrown loose upon society ; the public compassion was awakened in behalf of wandering helplessness ; and the influence of superstition was for a time diffused throughout the land, by the aid of the kindest feelings of human nature. It will be seen, hereafter, that a calamitous harvest was to be reaped from this precipitate and rapacious industry.

A terrible event now brings this period to a close. The king's passion for Anne Boleyn had long suffered decline, and the failure of his much-desired male issue filled him with desires for another consort. We have no means of forming any judgment of her guilt or innocence, the records of her trial and conviction having long since perished. Those who are most lenient to her faults, are compelled to allow that she was defective in that dignified reserve, which alone could give safety to her sudden and giddy elevation. She had probably observed that the "sober, stedfast," and even austere demeanour of Catherine, was but ill fitted to fix the vagrant fancy of a man like Henry ; and she was tempted by this consideration to indulge, without restraint, in the vivacity which was natural to her temperament. She forgot that, in her position, looks, and syllables, and gestures, are often full of perilous import : and that the "lightest word" may be expanded, by jealous inquisitors, into "confirmation strong," as the most direct and irresistible proof. It is, further, difficult to repress a suspicion, that she never was much distinguished by depth of generous sensibility, or by true loftiness of mind. In January, 1536, the exemplary Catherine expired at Kimbolton ; and the present occupant of her bed and throne was unable to suppress her satisfaction at this event. Instead of adopting the national style of mourning, she appeared, according to the French usage, in a dress of

yellow; in contempt of the public sympathy, and in neglect of those tender recollections, which a moment so solemn would naturally awaken in the heart of her royal husband.

The utter overthrow of all her hopes and prospects came upon the unhappy queen at a moment when all around her seemed to be serenity and sunshine; though some lowering clouds had recently passed over her, which, to keener eyes, may have been ominous of the coming tempest. The melancholy sequel of her story shows that she had long been surrounded by enemies and spies. The full particulars of it we must leave to other historians, and hasten to the only passages in which Cranmer has any immediate concern.

The calamity which fell upon the queen must have sent a chill into his heart. It cast a gloom over the prospects of that cause, to which his whole energies were devoted: for, whatever may have been her failings, Anne was, beyond all question, a cordial protectress of the Reformation, a kind benefactress to the poor, and a munificent patroness of meritorious and learned men. His dismay must have been deepened by the orders which he speedily received. On the 2d of May he was commanded to repair to Lambeth, but was forbidden to approach the court; a clear indication that he was numbered among those whose presence might obstruct the progress of the proceedings against her. But though absent from the scene of these preparations, he could not prevail upon himself to be altogether silent. From his palace he addressed to the king a letter, in behalf of his accused consort, conceived, undoubtedly, in the language of warm benevolence and sympathy. And, to the honour of Cranmer, it should always be remembered that he alone, among the herd of courtiers, dared to appear as the friend of the queen in this her greatest extremity. In the midst of her cruel desertion the solitary voice of the archbishop was raised in her cause: and this, at least, is sufficient to exhibit him in noble contrast with the baseness and inhumanity which insulted her before the council-board,—which perverted, into indications of guilt, the broken accents of her hysterical and almost

frantic agitation,—and which turned her prison into a place of torture, by surrounding her with attendants whom she had reason to suspect and to despise. That the topics of Cranmer's letter are skilfully selected for his purpose, cannot reasonably be questioned. He professes the deepest sympathy with the distress of the king; he does not attempt to palliate the nature of the offence with which the queen was charged; and he fully admits that no punishment could be too heavy, *if* her guilt could be established. At the same time he avows that the very accusation had thrown him into such perplexity, "that his mind was clean amazed: *for I never,*" he adds, "*had better opinion in woman than I had in her; which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable.*"—thus taking care to let the king perceive, that he, at least, had never discerned, in any action of her life, the faintest symptom of vicious passions or licentious habits. By taking a higher tone than this, he might, indeed, have made a splendid, but useless sacrifice of his own safety; but he would most certainly have inflamed the exasperation of his sovereign, and would as certainly have aggravated, if possible, the peril of the queen.

The concluding sentences of his address were evidently written under an impression, that the proof against her was stronger than he was at first willing to believe. Before he had closed his letter he had been sent for to the Star Chamber by the chancellor, and three other lords, who, doubtless, then communicated to him the particulars of the evidence collected. And that this was done in such a manner as to leave a deep impression upon his mind, is clear from the words which he added afterwards,—"*I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen, as I heard of their relation.*"

The most inexplicable circumstance in the whole of this transaction still remains to be noticed. The sentence pronounced against Anne was, that she should be *burnt*, or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. On the 17th of May, the second day after the sentence had been recorded, she was brought to Lambeth; and there, after the forms of trial had been once more solemnly enacted, her marriage with

the king was declared to be a nullity! What were the grounds of this strange proceeding, or for what earthly purpose it was instituted, is now utterly unknown. The only effect of it must have been to stultify, in the judgment of every reasonable man, the whole of the preceding process. For if the marriage were merely and absolutely void, Anne must have been all along the concubine of the king, and not his wife; and by what law of any Christian land was the infidelity of a mistress ever visited with the penalties of treason?

"The part," says Mr. Le Bas, "which Cranmer was condemned to bear, in pouring this last ingredient of bitterness into her cup, must have been felt by him as one of the severest afflictions of his life. And yet it is difficult to imagine by what means he could have escaped from the task, otherwise than by abdicating his bishopric. The whole, it should be remembered, was a judicial proceeding, at which he was compelled, by virtue of his station, to preside. Both the king and the queen appeared before him by their proctors and demanded his sentence. It further appears from the record of that proceeding, that for certain *just and lawful causes*, lately brought under his cognizance, the archbishop, after full investigation, and with the advice of counsel learned in the law, pronounced the pretended marriage "*always to have been without effect.*" It is undoubtedly a very strange and unaccountable circumstance, that these "*just and lawful causes*" are not specified on the face of this record; and that, to this hour, they have never been discovered. But—whatever those causes may have been—that Cranmer approached the consideration of them with an aching heart, is nothing more than will be readily inferred, by all generous minds, from the undoubted kindness and humanity of his temper. At the same time, it is far from impossible that he may have been partially reconciled to his most unwelcome office, by the hope that the very degradation of Anne might eventually relieve her from the penalty of death: for his sentence would change her condition from that of a treasonable consort, to the much less dangerous one of a fickle and unfaithful mistress. If, however, he was supported under his duty by

any such expectation, the delusion speedily vanished. Having established by this judgment that Anne never was his wife *de jure*, the king, nevertheless, persisted in inflicting the punishment due to treason, for misdeeds alleged to have been committed by her while she was merely his wife *de facto* ! Under these circumstances—though he did not consign his victim to the tortures of the stake—yet he did deliver to the axe of the executioner that form of loveliness which had so long been *the desire of his eyes*. And on the very day which followed the execution, he offered another atrocious insult to the commonest sensibilities of human nature, by leading Jane Seymour to the altar.

“The intelligence of these events was received throughout Europe with an universal murmur of astonishment and disgust. It was enough to bring almost indelible disgrace upon the very name of the Reformation. It placed the man himself among the number of those, whose lives have shown to the world what capacities of evil are lurking in the human heart. And, lastly, it proved that of all the curses which can befall our nature, none is so bitter as that of being surrendered to its own ungoverned impulses.”

III.

CONVOCAATION—THE BISHOPS' BOOK—BIRTH OF
EDWARD VI.

A.D. 1536.

THE parliament which assembled in June 1536, passed, without difficulty, a new act of succession, which limited the crown to the issue of Jane, or any future queen. And that the subjects of his majesty might be relieved from all temptation to perplex themselves with discussions on the matter, the penalties of high treason were affixed to the crime of affirming either of his first marriages to be valid, or either of his daughters legitimate! At the same time a power was reserved to him of declaring the succession at his pleasure, either by patent, or by will; and an opening was thus left for the descent of the crown to either of his degraded children.

In the same session an end was finally put to the authority of the Bishop of Rome. The Act passed for this purpose imposed on all officers, ecclesiastical or civil, the necessity of renouncing upon oath the power of the pope; and, with strange inconsistency, it subjected only to a *Præmunire* all positive acts in maintenance of that power, while it punished the refusal to abjure it with the penalties of high treason. By this consummation the royal prerogative was rendered complete and unassailable. Nearly the whole authority which formerly belonged to the pope appeared now to be transferred, in a body, to the crown: and, guarded as it was by the severity of the law, it presented a spectacle of domination more compact and solid than Europe had ever beheld since the days of Constantine. Had this concentration of

power remained in its full integrity, it might have been fatal to the expansion of our liberties. The lapse of time, however, and the gradual influence of better principles, have shorn this tremendous prerogative of a large portion of its strength. To us the royal supremacy is, perhaps, principally valuable as a negation of all foreign jurisdiction. In the eye of the constitution the English nation is one great Christian society, of which their own monarch is the first magistrate ; and, in that character, is charged with the duty of superintending, not merely the secular affairs, but the religious interests and obligations, of his people.

The death of Anne Boleyn in no respect diminished the influence of Cranmer with the king. A letter from Henry, however, was now directed to him, requiring that all preachers should be admonished to avoid diversity of teaching ; and that before they commenced their discourses the bidding prayer, which had been lately ordered, should be continued ; the names of " the most gracious lady Queen Anne," and of " the lady Elizabeth her daughter and heir to herself and the king," being of course erased. The form was thus issued to the clergy by the respective prelates :—" Ye shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church, and specially for this realm of England, wherein I commend to your devout prayers, the king's most excellent majesty, supreme head in earth immediately under God of the spirituality and temporality of the same ; and of the most noble and virtuous lady, Queen Jane, his most lawful wife. Secondly, ye shall pray for the clergy, the lords temporal, and commons of this realm, beseeching Almighty God to give every man grace in his degree so to use himself, as may be to his contentation, the king's honour, and the weal of the realm. Thirdly, ye shall pray for the souls departed abiding the mercy of Almighty God, that it may please him the rather at the contemplation of our prayers to grant them the fruition of his presence."

That England might again be subjected to the see of Rome was a hope that was cherished, and a fruitless endeavour that was made, now that Anne Boleyn was fallen,

by the reigning pontiff. The king was not to be reconciled. In the convocation now assembled to confirm the sentence that had been pronounced by Cranmer against the marriage of Anne Boleyn, there were among the clergy, however, a party favourable to the foreign ascendancy sought to be re-established. They complained of opinions that then prevailed, especially such as exposed many tenets of the Church of Rome. Of these they recited no less than sixty-seven; and though "many vile and distempered expressions be found therein," as Fuller, who first printed them, candidly admits, "yet they contain," he adds, "the Protestant religion in ore, which since, by God's blessing, is happily refined." The three last of these declarations are supposed to have been levelled at Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton, as if they had encouraged the numerous publications which gave rise to the complaints. They certainly did not prohibit them. To this service of the press each of them indeed contributed, though in different degrees: the first, prudently and solidly; the second, zealously and simply; the third, not without vanity and indiscretion. If their opponents now expected to silence them, and to have added to their triumph at the fall of Anne Boleyn the triumph over her own especial prelates, the project entirely failed. Cromwell came to the convocation, and declared that it was the king's pleasure that the religion of the kingdom should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing could be more absurd than to oppose to its authority, in theological decisions, the glosses of the schoolmen or the decrees of popes. With Cromwell, Alexander Ales came to this meeting, where he was desired to deliver his opinion concerning the sacraments; and he contended that Baptism and the Supper of our Lord were alone instituted as such by Christ. He was answered by Stokesley, bishop of London, and others of the Romish party, with the accustomed jargon of the schools and the proffer of unwritten verities, in defence of seven sacraments. Cranmer now rose from his seat, and with dignity rebuked the contention that approached to violence, while he evidently defended the truth which Ales had asserted, in these words:—

"It becometh not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For, to brawl about words is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the Church ; and not of them which seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the Church.

"There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and the Gospel ; of the manner and way how sins be forgiven ; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin ; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour which please God ; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions which have no word of God to confirm them,—whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man or no. Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, do bind men's consciences or no. Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins), ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with Baptism and the Supper of our Lord or no.

"These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian religion. Wherefore we contend not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith,—*Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.* And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing but the subversion and destruction of the hearers ; and mon-

isheth him specially, that he should resist with the Scriptures when any man disputeth with him of the faith ; and addeth a cause, where he saith, *Doing this, thou shalt preserve both thyself and also them which hear thee.* Now if he will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the scripture.

“ Wherefore, in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signify in holy Scripture ; and, when we call Baptism and the Supper of the Lord sacraments of the Gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well, that St. Ambrose and other authors call the washing of the disciples’ feet, and other things, sacraments ; which, I am sure, you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments.”

With Cranmer were joined, in favour of a reformation, Goodrich, bishop of Ely, Shaxton of Salisbury, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hilsey of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David’s. To them were opposed Lee, archbishop of York, Stokesley, bishop of London, Tunstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. To reconcile the parties was evidently the wish of Henry. It was his pride to be considered a profound theologian. He resolved, therefore, upon forming a system of orthodoxy to which, at least in his expectation, all would yield assent. The first public and authorised attempt at a reformation of religious opinion in his reign, accordingly appeared in 1536, with the title of “ Articles devised by the King’s Highness’s Majesty to stablish Christian quietness and unity among us, and to avoid contentious opinions ; which Articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the whole clergy of this realm.” Lord Herbert is of opinion that these articles were devised by the king himself ; Strype, that to Cranmer a great share in the preparation of them belongs. The latter gives no reason for what he supposed ; the former seems to be supported by

the sovereign's own words. But there can be no doubt that Henry was aided by his primate and other divines. Cranmer himself appears to have admitted that with the king the Articles originated, while he conceals not the attention bestowed upon them by himself. Thus he writes to Thirlby, at that time archdeacon of Ely and chaplain to the king, whom he reprehends for his inattention in not informing him "of those things in which he desired to know the king's pleasure. For there be iij places specially noted," he says ; "one in the margin of the first leaf [of a copy of the Articles, we may presume, now sent to him ;] another in the third, where be divers words to be inserted ; [and] the iij^d place is on the second side in the xiiij line, whereof I would have known likewise if the king's grace would have left out *miracles*, which all the bishops do think good to be left out ; and for the same purpose the self-same place in the book of parchment is void. Of the king's grace's advertisement in these points I would you had declared your diligence.—And where you write that the king's grace supposeth that I have *these articles in parchment subscribed with the hands of his counsellors*, surely at what time I was last at Lambeth, Master Cromwell sent to me for it in the king's name, and since as yet I hear nothing thereof."

"Throughout the work," it has been said, "Henry's attachment to the ancient faith is most manifest ; and the *only* concession which he makes to the men of the new learning is the order for the removal of abuses, with *perhaps* the omission of a few controverted subjects." And is this all ? If by the ancient faith the Church of Rome is exclusively intended, the imposing assertion, that the Bishop of Rome's pardons are necessary for obtaining everlasting salvation, or for delivering the souls of men out of purgatory and the pains of it, is also in this code of doctrines denied. Without the mention of tradition, or the decrees of the Church, these Articles, too, declared the Scriptures, and the three ancient Creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, to be the standards of faith. Without scholastic distinctions, they plainly stated the terms of the Christian covenant. They removed not,

indeed, the pretended necessity of auricular confession, the corporal presence in the sacrament, the reverence of images and prayers to the saints. But they reduced the seven sacraments to three—to Baptism, Penance, and the Supper of the Lord ; the first and last only of which the archbishop in his speech seems to have considered as sacraments. By perusing these Articles, the reader may perceive, Collier himself admits, “ that several of the most shocking doctrines of the Romish communion were softened and explained to a more inoffensive sense, and several superstitious usages discharged.”

“ We find, indeed, in these Articles,” says Strype, “ many popish errors intermixed with evangelical truths, which must be attributed either to the defectiveness of Cranmer’s knowledge as yet in true religion, or as being the principles and opinions of the king, or to both. Let not any be offended herewith ; but let him rather take notice what a great deal of gospel doctrine here came to light, and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority to be believed and practised. The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, which had long prevailed in this nation and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness.”

The publication of this formulary occasioned both rejoicing and dismay. The Romanists were dispirited, the Reformers encouraged. Injunctions were now issued by Cromwell, which Cranmer is believed to have dictated, that the Articles should be so explained by all ecclesiastical incumbents to the people, that they might “ plainly know and discern which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation, and which be not necessary, but only concern the decent and politic order of the Church.” The injunctions also commanded a declaration to the people, twice in every quarter of the year, of the entire abolition of the papal authority. They abrogated many holidays, particularly those in harvest-time, which had been the parents of much idleness and superstition. The people were no longer to extol images or relics, or to make pil-

grimaces, as if from such things a blessing was to be obtained; but to be instructed how to keep the commandments of God, and to perform works of charity; how to provide for their families at home, instead of idly consuming their substance abroad; how to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue. The ecclesiastics themselves were reminded that their conduct must be correct; that to them others would justly look for example in purity of life; that to the study of the Scriptures their time must be devoted; that, for the sake of their health, some "honest exercise" must be their choice. The tavern they were to shun, except for their "honest necessity." From gaming they were interdicted. In choosing an assistant, they were to appoint to the cure "not a rude and unlearned person, but a well-learned and expert curate, who would teach wholesome doctrine, and reduce to the right way them that erred." In the choir of their churches they were also directed to place a Bible, in Latin and English, for the use of all who might wish to read it. If not residing on their benefices, and if able to spend twenty pounds a-year, they were to distribute a fortieth part of their annual income to the poor. If able to spend a hundred pounds a-year, they were to maintain a scholar at some grammar-school, or at one of the Universities. Finally, the fifth part of their revenues they were to appropriate to the repairs of dilapidated residences.

To the corrupt clergy, as well as to the laity who adhered to the old doctrine, these injunctions could not but give great offence. Their dissatisfaction was encouraged by some of the rulers of the great monastic bodies, who, perhaps, expected thus to avert the approaching suppression of their own liberties. Cranmer now witnessed in his own cathedral an attempt at opposition, of which he gives the following account to Cromwell:—

"My very singular good lord, in my most hearty manner I commend me unto your lordship. And where you require me to advertise you what further knowleged I have concerning the misdemeanour of such monks of Christ's

Church as were detected unto you, as yet I know no more than I wrote to you, saving that the observation of the king's injunctions is not regarded. For, when any of the convent will move to have any of the said injunctions observed, by and by the prior saith that he hath a dispensation for it ; insomuch that amongst other things, on St. Blase's day last past, the prior commanded that the relics should be set forth as they were wont to be, and thereof sent word to the convent into the chapter-house, that it was the king's pleasure so to be done, which is contrary to the injunctions given. But forasmuch as I was uncertain whether he be thus dispensed with for such things or no, I thought it good to advertise your lordship thereof. Besides this, you shall understand that there is one named Dan Robert Antony, sub-cellarer of Christ's Church, who for fear of examination is gone his way, who left a letter behind him, the tenor whereof you shall perceive by the copy of the letter herein enclosed. Further, you shall receive herewithal a letter sent to me from Calais, concerning an oath to be had there for the extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's power and authority, according to the Act of Parliament, by which said letter your lordship shall perceive more in that behalf. Also, I have in durance with me a French priest of Calais, of whom I wrote to your lordship ; and with him I have received an English book, which my commissary, with other soldiers of the town, in reprehending such corrupt sayings as are therein contained, sustained much reproof and displeasure. The notable places therein this bearer, my servant, can inform you. If your lordship be minded to have the priest, I will send him to you ; he is surely a simple man, without all knowledge of learning, and therefore I think that he hath spoken nothing of malice or purpose, but of ignorance.—At Ford, Feb. xvi." [1536-7.]

Calais, with its dependencies, now belonging to the diocese of Canterbury, had before engaged, we have seen, the diligent attention of the archbishop. There are several other letters to the same effect, which we have not room here to introduce. The doctrines of Protestantism had at

this time been preached at Calais, not without opposition, however, from members of the Romish communion. By Adam Damplic, who had formerly been chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, whose religious opinions he then embraced and had now abandoned, they were zealously urged. He was a man of learning, and, having travelled into Italy after the death of his patron, was countenanced by Pole, who would gladly have retained him there. Damplic, like Cranmer, was estranged from the Church of Rome by what he witnessed abroad. Returning homeward, a convert to the truths that now were spreading over Europe, he was invited by Henry's lieutenant at Calais, the Viscount Lisle, to remain at that place. In that nobleman the Reformation possessed a friend. Damplic ventured to impugn the Romish tenet of transubstantiation, regardless of its still maintaining a place in the English code of doctrines. The friars of Calais proclaimed aloud their abhorrence of him, especially as he had exposed the pretence of a miracle in the church of St. Nicholas, where three transubstantiated hosts that were described to have bled, were discovered to be three painted counters. But complaints were sent to England against him, and he was consequently brought before the archbishop, and other prelates, to answer for his conduct. Cranmer appears not only to have been concerned for him, but to have expressed a concurrence in part of his proceedings. Damplic had been advised to abscond, after the examination had taken place. He followed the advice, and for a time gained a subsistence, unmolested, in a retired part of England, as a schoolmaster. He was long afterwards sacrificed to the malice of his enemies at Calais, whither he was sent to suffer, after two years' confinement in the Marshalsea, by Stephen Gardiner; a pretence of his being engaged in a traitorous correspondence with Pole being added to the doctrinal delinquency of which he had been before accused. Of the accusation against him, in the first instance, this is the account of Cranmer to Cromwell:—"As to Adam Damplic of Calais, he utterly denieth that ever he taught, or said, that the very body and blood of Christ was not present in the sacrament of the altar, and confesseth the same to be

there. But he saith, that the controversy between him and the prior was because he confuted the opinion of the transubstantiation, and therein I think he taught but the truth. Howbeit there came in two friars against him, to testify that he had denied the presence of the body and blood to be in the sacrament; which, when he perceived, straightway he withdrew himself, and since that time no man can tell where he is become; for which I am very sorry, because that I think he is rather fled suspecting the rigour of the law than the defence of his own cause. In consideration hereof, and to the intent that the people of Calais may be quiet and satisfied in this matter, I have appointed two of my chaplains to go thither and preach incontinently. Nevertheless, it is thought that they shall do little good there, if the said prior return home again. For whatsoever hath been done heretofore, either by my chaplains or by others, in setting forth the word of God there, no man hath hindered the matter so much as this prior, and no superstition more maintained than by him, which I perceive to be true, both by the report of my chaplains heretofore, and of other men of credence. I have now sent unto your lordship two letters, which shall something inform you of the prior's subtilty and craft, praying your lordship that in any wise he come not at Calais any more to tarry, but either that the house may be suppressed, or else that an honest and learned man may be appointed in his room. And forasmuch as the prior is here now, I pray you, my lord, that I may have your authority by your letter, to command him that he return not to Calais."

The following letter to the governor of the place, soon after the second injunctions of Cromwell were issued in 1538, contains the archbishop's regulations for proper preachers, and the permission for any persons to read the Bible then placed in churches; not, however, without the prohibition of interrupting the service by an affectation of expounding any text.

"As to your request," so he writes to Lord Lisle, "that none should be suffered to preach nor expound the Holy

Scriptures with you but such as shall be authorized by the king's majesty, or by me, I shall not fail to give such a commandment unto him that shall be my commissary, that he shall suffer no person to preach out of his own cure but such as shall have the said authority.—As concerning such persons as in time of divine service do read the Bible, they do more abuse the king's grace's intent and meaning in his grace's injunctions, and proclamations, which permit the Bible to be read, not to allure great multitudes of people together, nor thereby to interrupt the time of prayer, meditation, and thanks to be given unto Almighty God, which, specially in divine service, is, and of congruence ought to be, used; but that the same be done and read in time convenient, privately, for the erudition and amendment of the lives both of the readers, and of such hearers as cannot themselves read; and not in contempt or hindrance of any divine service or laudable ceremony used in the church; nor that any such reading should be used in the church as in a common school, expounding and interpreting Scriptures, unless it be by such as shall have authority to preach and read: but that all other readers of the Bible do no otherwise read thereupon, than the simple and plain text purporteth and lieth printed in the book. And if it chance that any doubts, or questions, do arise or seem to the readers and hearers of the said Bible, by reason of the text; then they always for the declaration of the said doubts and questions [are] to resort unto such preachers, as shall be lawfully admitted to preach. Which manner of reading and using of the Bible I pray you, my lord, that now, in the absence of my commissary, the same may by your authority be published in your church, and all other churches within the Marches of Calais. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well."

The Articles and Injunctions above described having laid the basis, it was next resolved that the substance of them should be digested into the more popular form of a treatise; and the result of this resolution was the compilation entitled *The Institution of a Christian Man*. It was better known among the people by the title of *The Bishops'*

Book, the compilation of it having been chiefly entrusted to the primate, and various other prelates, with whom were associated several eminent divines of inferior rank. The work was carried on at Lambeth, under the superintendence of Cranmer. As Gardiner and Stokesley were on the committee, it may be supposed that the composition was no very pacific task. No exertions were spared by them and their adherents, to impress their own image and superscription on the book. On the whole, however, they were overpowered by the Protestant party; and the design was executed in a manner, which at least implies no relapse towards the rejected perversions. The completion of it was probably hastened by the ravages of the plague, which was raging at the very doors of the Archbishop's palace. The volume was brought to a conclusion in July, and submitted by the vicar-general to the king, who kept it under consideration for several months, and inserted some corrections with his own hand. It was then returned to the archbishop, who had the boldness to demur to several of the royal emendations. The letter in which he announces his presumption to Cromwell, is very much in the nature of the soft answer which turneth away wrath; and it does not appear that the resentments of the supreme censor were at all excited by this interference with his judgment.

The book itself consists of an exposition of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria; to which are added two articles on Justification and Purgatory. It would be needless to present the reader with a full abstract of this composition, which principally embodies the doctrines already promulgated in the Articles of 1536, and in the Injunctions which speedily followed them. It will be sufficient to notice several more important particulars. In the first place, then, it professes to determine all things purely "according to the true meaning of Scripture," without reference to any other authority. It affirms distinctly the corruption of our moral and reasonable faculties. It exalts the propitiatory virtue of our Saviour's passion to its due office, to the rejection of all meritorious dignity in the

works of man. It leaves the sacrament of matrimony open to all classes of men, without exception ; though it seems to recommend a state of celibacy as preferable, wherever it could be maintained, without overpowering temptation to sin. In the acknowledgment of seven sacraments, it seems to recede from the position taken up in the Articles, which mention only three ; but then it ascribes only a subordinate importance to the remaining four. It excludes from the benefits of redemption all persons out of the pale of the Catholic Church ; but it also proclaims that "the Church of Rome" is not, and cannot worthily be called, the Catholic Church, but only one particular member thereof ; and that it cannot challenge any superiority over other churches. Lastly, to omit other particulars, it is remarkable for a strenuous inculcation of the doctrine of passive obedience. In the Exposition of the Decalogue, it speaks of kings as responsible to God alone ; and affirms that no resource but that of prayer is left to an oppressed people, however grievous may be their sufferings and provocations.

"By this work," says Mr. Le Bas, "the Reformation was placed on the loftiest ground which it ever reached during the reign of Henry ; on ground which, indeed, it was scarcely able fully to maintain. We have no means of ascertaining precisely how far it was removed from the highest point, to which the views and convictions of the primate himself would at that time have enabled him to raise it, even had he been left to the amplest exercise of his own judgment. It would scarcely be possible to furnish the reader with any adequate conception of the toil and care, the address and vigilance, which the conduct of this undertaking must have exacted from Cranmer, without a larger transcription from existing documents than is consistent with our compendious design. The preparation both of the Ten Articles, and of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, must have cost him many a weary day, and many a restless night. The difficulty of guiding and animating his probably reluctant master—and his perplexing course through the straits of theological discussion, (beset as they were, like the fabled channel of old, with rocks which seemed at

every instant ready to meet and crush the navigator)—all this required a spirit of such meek and patient wisdom, as leads us reverently to surmise, that Providence must have specially prepared and endowed him for his work. Nothing can be more easy than to censure the timid and gradual extrication of the mind from the labyrinth of error. But none will rave against this sort of prudence but those who know not the toil with which truth must always be sought,—more especially the groanings and the struggles with which it must be dug up, when buried beneath the sordid accumulation of centuries. As well might we expect the most literal fulfilment of the promise that mountains should be cast into the sea at the word of faith, as hope that Religion should heave off, in an instant, the load which whole ages of ignorance had laid upon her.

“ We need not stop to notice minutely the petty opposition which was incessantly girding itself up in various quarters against the archbishop, while these more momentous proceedings were in progress. We find, for instance, that a chantry priest neglected to remove the name of the pope from the liturgy of the Church ; and that Cranmer thought it necessary to refer the matter to Cromwell, as a case of contumacious resistance to the supremacy of the king. We also learn that Coverdale was scandalized at finding similar indications of disaffection at Newbury, and expressed his persuasion that the papal authority had zealous advocates in many other places. And, again, it appears that a half-witted priest (who afterwards attempted to destroy himself under the agonies of predestinarian despondency) had written in one of the church-books the almost treasonable sentence, *Rex, tanquam tyrannus, opprimit populum suum*. Small incidents like these are valuable only as indicating the various currents which were setting in, to swell the tide of opposition to the progress of Reformation. There is one, however, among these subordinate occurrences, so strikingly characteristic of the time, and so honourable to the good sense and moderation of the archbishop, that it would be improper to leave it unrelated. There was an ignorant priest in the north of England, who was as weary of hearing the praises of Cranmer, as the patriotic Athenian

was of being told of the justice of Aristides. He accordingly expressed his surprise that such commendations should be lavished upon one, who, after all, was originally but an hostler, and had no more learning than a goose. The patriot was speedily sent by the council to digest his virtuous indignation in the Fleet: and the result of his ruminations there, was a humble petition to Cranmer for his gracious intercession. This produced an interview between the archbishop and his slanderer; and the following was the tenor of their dialogue:—‘Did you ever see me before this day?’ said the primate. The priest replied in the negative. ‘Why then,’ rejoined Cranmer, ‘did you call me an hostler, and report that I had no more learning than a gosling?’ The reverend man confessed that, when he uttered these words, he was ‘overseen with drink.’ ‘Well, then,’ answered the archbishop, ‘produce your own learning, and oppose me now. Begin in grammar, if you will; or else in science or divinity.’ The luckless ecclesiastic declared, in sore discomfiture, that he had no manner of learning in the Latin tongue; his poor skill was entirely confined to English. ‘Be it so,’ said Cranmer, ‘you read the Bible, of course. In plain English, then, who was David’s father?’ The priest professed that he was not just able to say. ‘Then, perhaps, you will inform me who was the father of Solomon?’ The respondent protested that ‘he was nothing at all seen in these genealogies.’ Upon this the archbishop thought it high time to admonish the evil-speaker to abandon the company of men ‘who knew nothing, and would know nothing, but sat on the ale-bench, slandering all honest and learned men; and he warned him to dismiss the silly fancy that the King of England would despatch an hostler on an embassy to the emperor and the pope.’ The vicar-general was exceedingly indignant that this poor witless knave was not sent to St. Paul’s Cross, to recant his stupid calumnies in public. The archbishop knew better. He was aware that this man was not the first, by many a hundred, that had called him ‘hostler:’ but he felt that he should richly deserve the title, if he could degrade himself by resenting their absurdities. He was deeply grieved, indeed, by the

coarseness and ignorance of the men ; but he conceived that the effects of their folly upon his own character were very far beneath all serious notice.

“Cranmer felt much deeper annoyance at the reluctance manifested in his own diocese to comply with the recent injunctions ; those, more especially, which forbade the observance of superfluous holidays. He had himself endeavoured to secure the compliance of the people, by the influence of his personal example. His own cathedral had for ages been, perhaps, the most notorious scene of imposture and superstition in the kingdom ; and he showed his anxiety to terminate such abuses by contemptuously disregarding both the vigil and the festival of Becket. But he was deeply grieved to find, not only that the people were unwilling to part with these idle and frivolous solemnities, but that their prejudices were fostered and encouraged by a considerable number of the clergy ; and his distress was aggravated by the fact, that the king's own court was precisely the place in which the royal ordinances were most openly set at nought. This was an ominous and discouraging circumstance. It seemed to indicate that the eye of the king himself was complacently reverting to the practices of ancient days. The feelings of the archbishop on the subject are strongly expressed by him in a letter which he addressed to Cromwell on the 28th of August, in this year. In this letter he declares his resolution to punish the refractory curates by deprivation ; and to exact of them a presentment of all persons who should persevere in disobedience, either to the injunctions already published, or to any others which should be thereafter set forth ‘for the redress or ordering of the doctrine or ceremonies of the Church of England.’ He, moreover, declares his persuasion that much opposition and contention might be avoided, if every bishop were to resort to similar measures, and thus relieve the king and his council from the invidious exercise of severity. Thus much was written by the hand of Cranmer's secretary. With his own hand he adds the following sentences :—‘But, my lord, if in the court you do keep such holy days, and fasting days, as be abrogated, when

shall we persuade the people to cease from keeping them ? For the king's own house shall be an example unto all the realm, to break his own ordinances.' The courage of this remonstrance could be surpassed only by the delicacy and discretion which thus guarded it from the eye of the primate's amanuensis.

" But amidst all these distractions, the hopes of the archbishop were brightened by one joyful and most important occurrence. While he was residing at his house at Ford, near Canterbury, an impression of the whole Bible in English was completed, under his patronage, by two enterprising publishers, Grafton and Whitchurch. It appeared in one great folio volume, known by the name of *Matthew's Bible*. This name, however, was undoubtedly fictitious. The translation was partly executed by Tyndale, and partly by Coverdale ; but, Tyndale having suffered martyrdom in Flanders, it was thought prudent to conceal from the public the real authors of the work, and to send it forth under a name untainted with the odour of heresy. The printing was conducted abroad, probably at Hamburg. The corrector of the whole was John Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Marian persecution. The volume was provided with prologues and annotations, chiefly relating to the Lord's Supper, the marriage of priests, and the sacrifice of the mass ; all of which were so offensive to the Romish party, that afterwards, during the period of their ascendancy, they effected the suppression of these heretical commentaries.

" The delight of Cranmer at the accomplishment of this great undertaking, is warmly expressed by him in two letters to Cromwell ; in one of which he renders to the vicegerent his hearty thanks for presenting a copy of this Bible to the king, and obtaining his majesty's permission for its sale and circulation ; and declares that the event had afforded him more gratification than he could have derived from the gift of a thousand pounds. In the other of these letters he repeats the expression of his gratitude to Cromwell. For these good offices with the king, on this occasion, ' your lordship,' he writes, ' shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or here-

after shall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of his word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest.' It will be remembered that Cranmer himself had already been authorized by the king to conduct and forward a translation of the Scriptures, and that the attempt had been embarrassed by the factious opposition of Stokesley. The other persons associated with the archbishop for this purpose were less untractable; but still, it seems, their diligence was outstripped by that of independent adventurers; and Cranmer, anxious only for the success of the cause, beheld with unmixed satisfaction the appearance of a version which superseded his own labours, and those of his tardy or reluctant brethren.

"The year 1537 was rendered further memorable by the birth of an heir to the English crown. By this event the nation was relieved from the protracted anxiety and danger of a disputed succession. For the first time in the reign of Henry—now extended to eight-and-twenty years—they were blessed with an heir-apparent of unquestioned legitimacy. The universal satisfaction diffused by this blessing was, however, clouded by the death of the queen, which happened shortly after her delivery. She had borne her honours with incomparable meekness and discretion, and had both fixed the attachment of her royal husband, and won the esteem and confidence of his people. The name of Edward was given to the prince at his baptism; and the sponsors were Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lady Mary. His uncle, Sir Edward Seymour (who had recently been created Baron Beauchamp), was, about the same time, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Hertford."

IV.

SUPPRESSION OF CONVENTS—THE BISHOPS' BIBLE—
MARTYRDOM OF JOHN LAMBERT.

A.D. 1538—1539.

THE work of monastic spoliation was now rapidly proceeding. In 1537 a second general visitation took place, and in 1539 a new statute was passed, which provided that "all religious houses, forfeited, dissolved, or suppressed, should be vested in the king's highness, his heirs and successors, for ever."

It was in vain that Cranmer and Latimer, in this and the succeeding reign, urged the importance and the duty of devoting a chief portion of this confiscated property to purposes in some way analogous to the original intentions of the founders. The favourites of the sovereign always succeeded in obtaining a preference; and thus, says Mr. Le Bas, "there occurred a more general and sudden advancement of private families to commanding opulence than had been witnessed since the days of the Norman conquest." Could Cranmer, and men like Cranmer, have been listened to, the old and corrupt foundations would have been transformed into seminaries of education for the clergy; a better maintenance would have been provided for the poorer incumbents; bishoprics would have been multiplied in number; and some houses would have been preserved as retreats of learning and devotion. But his words were as the murmurs of them that dream, in the ear of sacrilege. All they could extort was the application of a part of these vast funds to the establishment of some few additional bishoprics. Just enough was done to cast a

fimsy disguise over the prodigality of the sovereign and the cupidity of his courtiers.

We return to the more directly personal labours of the archbishop. In the summer of 1538 the diocese of Hereford, then vacant by the death of Fox, was visited by the archbishop; and certain regulations were issued by him to the clergy of the diocese, enforcing the observance of the royal injunctions of 1536, and directing, in conformity with a recent proclamation to that effect, that by the first day of August they should procure a copy of the Bible, or at least the Testament, in Latin and English; that they should study a chapter every day, comparing the Latin and the English together; and that they should encourage the laity to do the same, for the amendment of their lives. It was further ordered that no friar should be allowed to officiate in their churches without a dispensation or license from the ordinary (a most important and salutary provision); that no young person should be admitted to the sacrament who could not repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and, lastly, that banns of marriage should be published twice every quarter, and that private contracts of matrimony should on no account be made. In the September following, a new series of royal injunctions was issued by the vicar-general, for the further establishment of the Reformation. They begin by a peremptory demand of obedience to the former injunctions, which had been notoriously neglected. They renew the order for placing the Bible in churches for the perusal of the people; they direct that the laity should be carefully taught to recite the Pater Noster, Belief, and the Decalogue, in English; that they should be instructed to cast away all affiance in superstitious works, and exhorted to deeds of charity and faith. They prescribe that every one should be presented to the council, or to the vicegerent, who should presume to resist these injunctions or uphold the authority of the Bishop of Rome. They prohibit all superstitious observance of images or relics; and they expressly ordain that the commemoration of Thomas à Becket should be altogether discontinued. They are further remarkable for the introduction of one most im-

portant and useful practice,—that of recording all baptisms, weddings, and funerals, in parochial registers.

Our imaginations are unable to picture the eagerness with which the people availed themselves of the liberty thus offered them, by the repeated declarations of the king, to consult the sacred volume for themselves. The impatience they manifested may, in part, be ascribed to mere curiosity. Men were naturally anxious to examine the writings which had been for ages so jealously looked up from their inspection. Nothing, however, but a higher motive can account for the universal rush to the fountain of living waters, the moment it was unsealed. Every one that could, purchased the book: and if he was unable to read it himself, he got his neighbour to read it to him. Numbers might be seen flocking to the lower end of the church, and forming a little congregation round the scripture reader. Many persons, far advanced in life, actually learned to read, for the express purpose of searching the oracles of God: and one instance has been recorded of a poor boy, only fifteen years of age, who voluntarily incurred the same toil, and then joined his stock with a brother apprentice for the purchase of a Testament, which he concealed under the bed-straw, and perused at stolen moments, undismayed by the reproaches of his mother and the brutal violence of his father. Nay, such was the general excitement, that, at last, the tavern and the alehouse often became the scenes of religious discussion. The king found it necessary to discourage by his proclamation these unseemly debates, and to enjoin a reference to learned and authorised teachers on all questions of difficulty or doubt.

But while the Holy Scriptures were thus raised to their proper rank and estimation, it became equally necessary to depress the hitherto dominant superstitions. Of these, one of the chief had long been harboured in Cranmer's own cathedral. The most popular saint in England, of the Church of Rome, was Thomas Becket. He was now in the estimation of many, as Chaucer more than a century before had termed him, "the holy blissful martyr" of the time. His miracles, often of the most ridiculous and absurd character, were still the honoured theme of ignorance and

credulity. To his shrine at Canterbury superstitious pilgrims yet resorted ; and upon the altar erected to his memory their prodigality, as in former days, showered down the richest offerings. Cranmer had already censured this folly. The king now resolved to check it. We are told that the deceased prelate was formally cited to appear in court, and answer the charges to be brought against him by the king's attorney of treason and rebellion. After the canonical allowance of thirty days' delay, "still the saint neglected," the recent historian of our country facetiously observes, "to quit the tomb in which he had reposed for two centuries and a half." But counsel, it is also said, argued for him, though in vain. For the proof of these proceedings we are referred to copies of two apparently public instruments made by Wilkins from the work of Chrysostom Henriquez, entitled *Phoenix Reviviscens*; the authenticity of which Dr. Lingard himself might have doubted, he says, if the king had not alluded to them, in his proclamation of November 16, by saying, "it appeareth now clearly that Thomas Becket," &c.; and if the papal bull of December 17 had not used the words "*in judicium vocari, et tanquam contumacem damnari, ac proditorem declarari fecerat*." It is to Pollini, indeed, who is hardly at any time more than a servile copier of Sanders, that this Henriquez ascribes the first of these instruments, which is the citation, and to another foreigner the second, which is the judgment. And yet not a syllable of the first is to be found in the piratical Italian, nor anything respecting the second but a lamentation of the alleged writer of it. Pollini merely translates the remark by Sanders, which Lord Herbert has copied in stating, "that, Becket having been so great an example of contumacy to his king, Henry (as Sanders hath it) was constrained *causam iterum ad tribunal dicere*; that is to say, *his life and actions being examined*, he was declared by our king that he deserved no canonisation ; and it was proved besides, that the skull which the people so much venerated, and was now burnt as an imposture, was not his own." The judicial process against him Dr. Lingard submits to the reader, "on account of its singularity and absurdity." Has he then forgotten

the execution of the papal order in regard to Wicliffe, by which, long after his death, that Reformer was also cited, and then excommunicated ; that his body was disinterred, and his bones burnt ? or, to come down to the Marian times, will he deny that the deceased Bucer and Fagius were treated at Cambridge in a precisely similar manner to Becket, being summoned from the tomb to appear, and show cause why their bones also should not be burnt ? The University had then returned to a Romish absurdity, as it well indeed is called, which Henry in the case of Becket seems not to have relinquished. However, Becket was certainly declared to have been no other than a traitor and a rebel, who would have placed himself and the clergy above the law of his country. The images of him were now ordered to be everywhere removed, the days of his festival to be no more regarded, and his name to be blotted out of all books. The gold and jewels of the shrine were confiscated to the king's use. They filled two ponderous chests indeed, which, however, the Romish historians have converted into six-and-twenty carts ; as if the rapacity of Henry had not been sufficiently conspicuous in the smaller seizure.

Cromwell soon afterwards issued new injunctions, in the name of his sovereign, to the clergy ; in which the omission of every remembrance of Becket is especially commanded. The instruction of the people in the principles of true religion, by teaching the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English, was again ordered. The Bible, as before, was to be placed in every church. The works of charity, mercy, and faith, were to be earnestly inculcated ; and a trust in the works of others, the pilgrimage to a relic or an image, and the repetition of unintelligible beads, as all tending to idolatry and superstition, were to be forbidden. All images, abused by offerings or devotional journeys made to them, were to be taken down. Before no image were tapers any longer to be lighted. They who still dared to acknowledge the Bishop of Rome's pretended power ; they who endeavoured to hinder others from reading or hearing the word of God, or from the observance of any of these injunctions, were to

be reported to the king, or his council, or to Cromwell himself. The pardons of the pontiff were treated with contempt. The orisons to various imagined saints, the perpetual *Ora pro nobis*, were to be relinquished for dutiful supplications to the Almighty. The clergy were reminded, as in the former injunctions, of what was expected in their personal conduct ; and the judicious order for registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, in every parish, was now first made.

The impostures that were now discovered were certainly great and many. That they should bring the religious orders, by whom they had been maintained, into contempt, is no wonder. The rood of grace at Boxley, and the blood of Christ at Hales, may be called the principal instruments of these delusions. The former, being an image, by secret springs and wheels was contrived to appear before its votaries as an animated observer. The latter, being a phial often filled with the blood of a duck, and having one of its sides transparent and the other opaque, was accordingly invisible to the longing eyes of the sinner, till his money proved sufficient to turn the wondrous glass, and then the sight of its contents absolved him. In Christ's Church, Canterbury, the blood of Becket was also preserved as a miraculous relic. Cranmer had written to Cromwell concerning it "as a feigned thing," believing it to be "made of red ochre or such-like matter ;" and he desired "that Dr. Lee, and Dr. Barbour his chaplain, might have the king's commission to examine that, and all other like things there."

The fame of Becket, however, for a time, after the injunctions had forbidden all notice of him, was still defended. In the following January, Cranmer transmitted to Cromwell various depositions concerning one who had been heard to say, "that it was pity St. Thomas was put down, and that the old law was as good as the new." In March, Coverdale addressed the vicar-general more fully upon the subject, informing him not only of "a glass window in the church of Henley, in which the image of Thomas Becket, with the whole feigned story of his death, was suffered to remain, but that all the beams, irons, and

candlesticks whereupon tapers and lights were wont to be set up to images, were still untaken down. Whereby," this vigilant reformer adds, "the poor, simple, unlearned people believe, that they shall have liberty to set up their candles again unto images, and that the old fashion shall shortly return." Coverdale omits not to censure "the great and notable negligence of the Bishop of Lincoln" (who indeed was one of Gardiner's party) "in not weeding out such faults." He complains also "of the great oversight of the stationers of London, who for their lucre and gain are not ashamed to sell such primers as corrupt the king's subjects;" and concludes his letter with an account of his having seized many "most ungracious popish books within the precincts of Newbury," which he is solicitous to burn at the market-cross of the place.

But while the king, aided by Cromwell and Cranmer, proceeded to these lengths, it might have been expected that the papal court, losing all hope of England, would think it high time to try its strongest measures. Accordingly, the pope, who had for three years suspended the thunderbolt, now launched it against the head of the incorrigible heretic. The exhumation of Becket's remains, distinguished as they were by innumerable miracles—the sacrilegious pillage of his chapel—the ejection of the monks from his church—and the introduction of "wild beasts" in their place—all these are denounced by the pontiff as atrocities far surpassing the wickedness of Saracens. He therefore resolved that the sentence of excommunication should finally go forth; and he threatened all who should infringe or resist it, with the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul.

The pontiff having thus pronounced the forfeiture of Henry's dominions, proceeded to offer them to the King of Scotland. To this prince he accordingly addressed a brief, in which he declared the king to be a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, and convicted of treason against him, the pope his lord; and he therefore invited the monarch of Scotland to invade and seize his kingdom. But the weapons of the Vatican had now, evidently, lost much of their keenness and their weight: at all events,

the king was covered over with a panoply, which they had no power to penetrate. His own hierarchy had already (probably in the course of this very year) issued two solemn declarations, in one of which they pronounced that Christ expressly forbade his Apostles, or their successors, to take the sword or the authority of kings; and that if the Bishop of Rome, or any bishop, should assume such power, he was a tyrant, an usurper, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ. In the other, they affirmed that, by the commission of Christ to churchmen, they were only ministers of the Gospel; that, like all other subjects, they are under the authority of Christian princes; that bishops and priests have charge of souls, and power to teach the word, and administer the sacraments; and that, in case of their negligence, it is the office of the prince to compel them to the execution of their duty. By the first of these documents, the papal usurpation was once more expressly denounced; and the second contained such a perspicuous and temperate exposition of the royal supremacy, as was eminently adapted to repel the calumnies industriously circulated by the policy of Rome, namely, that the king had made himself the fountain-head of all spiritual authority and power. After this, the cardinals might vent their fury in the conclave, and declare that a warfare against Henry was as meritorious as a warfare against the Turk; and Pole might even exalt a crusade against him, above any other human enterprise. But invective and excommunication must have been like the tinkling cymbal, in the ears of one, whose own Church was prepared to answer in the formidable language of these two declarations.

We now arrive at a lamentable event in the history of Cranmer. While earnestly prosecuting his search of truth, he had not yet discovered the fallacy of the dogma of transubstantiation; nor had he seen the error of inflicting capital punishment on those adjudged to be guilty of heresy. About this time the sect of the Anabaptists was now so increased in this country, as to alarm the government. These misguided persons are believed to have come hither, from the scenes of their disorders in

Germany and Holland, in the year 1534. The Articles in 1536, speaking of the sacrament of baptism, pointed largely at their religious opinions, which they pronounced "detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned." By the common people abroad these fanatics, for such the Anabaptists certainly then were, had been feared and detested as beasts of prey; by the civil powers they had been treated as rebels of the most dangerous character. Henry was led to believe that the poison of their heresy and sedition was now widely spreading among his subjects. To Cranmer, accordingly, and to other prelates and divines, a royal commission was issued in October, 1538, for the purpose of "proceeding against them, of restoring the penitent, of delivering the obstinate to the secular arm, and of destroying their books." A proclamation followed in November, making "the Sacramentaries," as they who wished to reform the Eucharist from the abuses of the Church of Rome were then called, "the fellows of their crime," denouncing punishment upon both, as soon as detected, to the extremity of the law. That extremity was the punishment of death, which in the same month was inflicted upon a man and a woman, not English, but Dutch Anabaptists. Others of this sect, from the country of the latter also, had before suffered in England. Nor was the bitterness of such proceedings mitigated for several years.

But at this time the trial of a distinguished Sacramentary appears to have excited the greatest interest, John Nicholson, a clergyman, in the time of Cranmer's predecessor had been detained in custody upon a charge of heresy, but at the accession of Cranmer to the primacy was discharged. He then assumed the name of Lambert, and became a schoolmaster in London. Regardless of the royal order that forbade disputation upon the Eucharist, he presented to Dr. Taylor, who had preached a sermon upon transubstantiation, of which he was an indignant auditor, his written sentiments against the belief of the real presence. Taylor reported this opposition to Barnes. Barnes, having been employed on the embassy to the Lutheran princes, was no stranger to the violent controversy

concerning the Eucharist that had been excited among foreign Protestants, and perhaps now dreaded the introduction of it here, as unfavourable to the progress of the Reformation. He therefore advised Taylor to summon Lambert before the archbishop for his heresy. Cranmer accordingly cited the learned heretic to answer for his conduct, who appealed from the metropolitan to the regal authority. Henry readily agreed to be his judge, and Westminster Hall was the scene of the proceedings. Addressed by his sovereign, not with the condescension that endears to every man the character of royalty, the prisoner faltered. "Why standest thou still?" said the unfeeling monarch to him: "Answer, as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?"—"I answer with St. Augustine," said Lambert, "that it is the body of Christ after a certain manner." "Answer me," replied the king, "neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no?"—"Then I deny it," Lambert firmly answered, "to be the body of Christ." The monarch then merely telling him that he should be condemned by Christ's own words, "This is my body," commanded the archbishop, who with other prelates attended at the trial, formally to refute the assertion.

Cranmer addressed him:—"Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I promise I will willingly embrace the same. It is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once; which, being in heaven, was seen by St. Paul at the same time upon earth (Acts, ix. 4); and if it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places?"

Lambert answered, "that it was not thereby proved that Christ's body was dispersed into two places, or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body; for the Scripture doth not say that

Christ, being upon earth, spake to Paul, but that suddenly a light from heaven shone round about him ; and he, falling to the ground, heard a voice saying unto him, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ?' Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth ; for they, who were with Paul, verily heard the voice, but saw nobody."—"But Paul himself witnesseth," said the archbishop, "that Christ did appear to him in the same vision."—"Christ witnesses in the same place" (Acts, xxvi. 16, 17), the triumphant divine replied, "that he would again appear to him, and deliver him out of the hand of the Gentiles ; and yet we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear to him."

The archbishop now hesitated, the king was disturbed, and the auditors were amazed. Gardiner, out of the turn that had been assigned to him for disputing with the accused, instantly rose, as if impatient to lower the metropolitan in the eyes of his sovereign, by inferring that he had argued feebly on the occasion. He expected (nor was his expectation vain) thus to foment prejudices that would help to forward his own almost immediate proceedings, in regard to the execrable Act of the Six Articles. Himself and other prelates continued to browbeat rather than to confute Lambert. The fallacies of Gardiner, Foxe has recorded ; those of Sampson, bishop of Chichester, together with his insulting reflections upon the accused, Strype has copied from his own declaration. The disputation, too, of Stokesley, bishop of London, upon this occasion, has been also preserved, not without the notice of a miserable boast that he is said to have made, not long before he died, of having burned fifty heretics. Lambert maintained his opinions, in answers not only to this opponent, but to Gardiner and Tunstal, as well as to the archbishop. The night was now overtaking the disputants. Overpowered by the taunts, not by the arguments, of the prelates, Lambert perceived that there was no hope of being fairly heard, and he was silent. The king then asked him, whether he chose to live or die ? He replied, that he looked to the royal mercy. That was, however, denied with the ungracious reflection, "I will not be a

patron of heretics." To Cromwell the direction was then given by the sovereign to read the sentence of condemnation. The unhappy schoolmaster was soon afterwards consigned to the flames. He refused to recant, and he died with firmness. Throughout this melancholy history we know nothing further of Cranmer than what has been related. What had been his intention, when the cause was brought into his own court, cannot now be known. The proceedings are lost.

The mildness with which he had at this time addressed the accused before the king, leads us to believe that he would also then have heard him with candour, and have endeavoured to convert rather than punish him. Frith, who had long before been condemned for denying transubstantiation also, he had certainly attempted to save by his persuasions. It was but in the year, too, preceding the trial of Lambert, that, being addressed by a learned foreigner with a book upon the same denial, the archbishop, while he declined to be a patron of it, evidently referred with sorrow, in his answer, to the sacrifice that had been made to this doctrine in the death of Frith and his fellow-martyr, by calling it "the bloody controversy." Still he taught the doctrine; and to Cromwell he had in this year referred a proceeding respecting it, instead of deciding it himself, in the following terms:—

"These shall be to signify unto your lordship, that yesterday Franciscus, the Duke of Saxony's chancellor, was in hand with me and the Bishop of Chichester very instantly to have Atkinson's penance altered from Paul's unto the parish church of the said Atkinson. Whereunto we made him this answer, that forasmuch as that error of the sacrament of the altar was so greatly spread abroad in this realm, and daily increasing more and more, we thought it needful, for the suppressing it of, most specially to have him do his penance at Paul's, where the most people might be present, and thereby in seeing him punished, beware of like offence; declaring further unto him that it lay not in us to alter that penance to any other place, because we were but commissaries appointed by your lordship, and

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therefore without your advice and consent we could not grant unto him anything in this behalf. He then, perceiving that we nothing did incline to his request, answered and said, that if any person, coming from the King of England unto the duke his master, should require a greater request than this was, it should be granted unto him; alleging that the Bishop of Hereford asked of his master one that was condemned to death, and he was liberally delivered unto him. Howbeit, said he, I do not require such a thing, but only that this Atkinson's penance may be altered from one place unto another. Then I promised him, that I would consult with your lordship herein as this day touching his request. Wherefore I beseech your lordship to advertise me by this bearer what answer I shall make unto him in this behalf. At Lambeth, the xxij^d day June, [1538]."

Cranmer expresses no desire, we see, that the request should be denied. If still he firmly adhered to the doctrine of transubstantiation, as in his answer to Vadian in the preceding year he had said he would adhere till he found stronger proofs against it, further evidence of his concern for those who, by opposing it, became liable to punishment, we have observed in the case of Damply, to whom, indeed, he made some concession against the doctrine. So to an Oxford theologian, who, in 1541, disputed before him against it, he granted force in his objections. So when Anne Askew, in 1546, was adjudged to the flames for disbelieving the doctrine, that accomplished lady, whose affecting story, chiefly in her own words, is told by Foxe, names among her judges, not the archbishop, but the Romish bishops, Gardiner and Bonner. It was in that year, indeed, that Cranmer extricated himself entirely from the belief of transubstantiation. Reminded afterwards by Gardiner of the part he had taken in the trial of Lambert by using the words, "This is my body," in the sense that tended to the condemnation of the prisoner, he was desirous to atone, by the following frank confession, for his concurrence in the prosecution. "I acknowledge, that not many years past I was yet in darkness concerning this

matter [transubstantiation], being brought up in scholastical and Romish doctrine, whereunto I gave much credit. And therefore I grant that you have heard me stand and defend the untruth which I then took for the truth, and so did I hear you at the same time. But praise be to the Everlasting God, who hath wiped away those Saulish scales from mine eyes ; and I pray unto his Divine Majesty, with all my heart, that he will likewise do once the same to you. Thy will be fulfilled, O Lord !”

If this were not sufficient to disprove the opinion that, at the time of Lambert's trial, Cranmer held the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation, a more positive assertion may be adduced. Taunted at his own trial, with reference to that of the schoolmaster, as if he had then been a Lutheran, and had afterwards become a Zuinglian, “ I grant,” said he, to the jurist who interrogated him, “ that then I believed otherwise than I do now, and so I did until my Lord of London, Doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me [in 1546], quite from my opinion [namely, of transubstantiation]. I taught,” he added, “ but two contrary doctrines in the high sacrament of the altar ;” meaning, beyond all doubt, only the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and that of the Reformed Church of England in the communion service which had been prepared by himself.

V.

REVIVAL OF POPERY—THE SIX ARTICLES—DEATH OF CROMWELL—ANNE OF CLEVES, AND CATHERINE HOWARD.

A.D. 1539—1540.

THE power of the Romish party in England was still great. Gardiner, its chief reliance and leader, was just now in favour. In Lent, 1539, he was appointed by the king to preach at Paul's Cross. We have his own account of the style in which he then acquitted himself. In one of his publications he gives us "a part of the sermon at Paul's Crosse the fyrst sonday of lent, mdxxxix." In speaking of this sermon, he says, "I gathered my wittes to me, called for grace, and determined to declare the gospell of that sondaye, conteynynge the devyll's three temptations, the matter whereof seemed to me very apte to be applyed to the tyme, and good occasion to note the abuse of scripture among some, as the devyl abused it to Christ; which matter in dede I touched somewhat playnly, and in my judgement truly. And alludinge to the temptation of the devyll to Christ to cast himselfe downewarde, alleging scripture, that he should take no hurte, I sayde, Nowadayes the devill tempteth the world, and byddeth them cast themselfe backward. There is no forward in the newe teaching, but all backward. Now the devill teacheth, Come back from fastynge, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weepinge for thy synnes; and all is backwarde; insomuch as he must lerne to say his pater-noster backward!"

Gardiner had too much discretion and policy to withstand the king's will in the matter of the suppression of the monasteries. It has been truly said, that by the

Romish party this suppression was carried. This party seems to have regained much of Henry's confidence. Prompted by them, he directed that a committee should be appointed by the lords to examine the existing differences of religious opinions, and to form articles for a general agreement. On the Romish side were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, and Bangor: on the Reformed, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury, and Cromwell the vicegerent. Their attendance in the house upon other business was dispensed with till they should come to a conclusion; but they were recommended to be expeditious. Eleven days, however, elapsed in mutual opposition. The Duke of Norfolk, with the bitter propositions in his hand against the Reformers, then acquainted the lords, that as by the committee no progress had been made, by himself the abolition of the diversity of opinions would be submitted to their judgment. He therefore read the following propositions:—

I. Whether in the Eucharist the real body of Christ was present without any transubstantiation?

II. Whether that sacrament was to be given to the laity in both kinds?

III. Whether the vows of chastity, made either by men or women, ought to be observed by the law of God?

IV. Whether by the law of God private masses ought to be celebrated?

V. Whether priests by the law of God might marry?

VI. Whether auricular confession were necessary by the law of God?

Against most of these propositions Cranmer argued in the negative. Such is the account of Foxe, Lord Herbert, Burnet, and even Collier. His own assertions, afterwards, first to the Devonshire rebels, and then to Gardiner, appear to justify their report. To the former he said, "that these articles were so enforced by the evil counsel of certain Papists against the truth and common judgment, both of divines and lawyers, that if the king's majesty

himself had not come personally into the parliament-house, those laws had never passed :” to the latter, being reminded by him of the clergy (who were indeed required to read them in their churches) having assented to the Articles, he replied, “ You know very well, and if you will deny it there be enough yet alive can testify, that divers of the clergy, being of most godly living, learning, and judgment, never consented to the Articles which you speak of. And what marvel was it that those Articles, notwithstanding divers learned men repugning, passed by the most voices of the parliament, seeing that although the authority of Rome was then newly ceased, yet the darkness and blindness of errors and ignorance that came from Rome still remained, and overshadowed this realm, [so] that a great number of the parliament had not yet their eyes opened to see the truth. And yet, how that matter was enforced by some persons, they know right well that were then present.” The freedom of debate had been evidently crippled. He challenges Gardiner to deny it. Whether his opposition, therefore, ceased on the second day, as some pretend, or was continued on the third, as our old historians affirm, it is clear that he was silenced not by fair discussion. The monarch whom he opposed, compelled to admire his firmness, condescended though in vain to bid him retire, since he would not yield to the cruelty and absurdity that now were meditated. In a single point it was his good fortune not to differ from the opinion of Henry. It related to that tenet which is so serviceable in subjugating the freedom of the human mind, auricular confession. He seized the present occasion to assert, that auricular confession was not necessary by any precept of the Gospel ; in which assertion he was supported by the king, and they were opposed by the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Winchester and Durham. That the resolution of the house might declare auricular confession to be a command by Christ and a part of the sacrament of penance, was the object of Gardiner and his associates : but the debate produced no more than the simple declaration, that this confession was expedient and necessary to be retained in the Church of God. Tunstal was vexed at

this successful opposition, and afterwards wrote to the king, whose opinions, however, he could not change. "Since methought, my Lord of Durham," the king replied to him, "that both the Bishops of York and Winchester, and your reasons and texts, were so fully answered this other day in the house, as to my seeming and supposal, the most of the house was satisfied ; I marvelled not a little why eftsoons you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other texts or reasons than were there declared, both by the Bishop of Canterbury and me, to make smally or nothing to your intended purpose, &c." The whole letter denying auricular confession to be of divine institution is too long to be copied. His majesty concludes it, "I pray you blame not me though I be not of your opinion, and I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose." Cranmer, soon after this memorable debate, confirmed the opinion he had urged with the following assertion ; "that the Scripture speaketh not of penance as we call it, a sacrament, consisting of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction ; but the Scripture taketh penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him."

But the opposition of the archbishop to the Six Articles has been attributed, by Romish writers, solely to the fact of his being married ; as if there had been no other part of them to which he could not assent, and as if he abhorred not the rigorous penalties attached to the whole. Defeated in his attempt to prevent their being passed into a law, he still maintained his own opinion of them, while as a dutiful subject he refused not his submission to them. For when afterwards a conspiracy was formed against him, at the suggestion, it has been thought, of Gardiner, and his obedience to the Act was questioned, he told the king, that he was of the same opinion he had declared himself when the bill was passing ; but that he had done nothing against the Act. The king, then putting on an air of pleasantry,

demanding whether his chamber would stand the test of the Articles ; and the archbishop replied, that he had sent his wife to her friends in Germany. The answer, without evasion or reserve, pleased the king ; who then told the archbishop, "that the severity of the Act was not levelled against him, and at the same time assured him of his future favour." The king, indeed, after the law was enacted, sent to Cranmer the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with other distinguished persons, "to console him as one that for his exertions in parliament had shown himself both eminently wise and learned, and as therefore not to be discouraged for anything that there passed contrary to his allegations."—"I thank his highness," said Cranmer, "for his regard, and you for your pains ; and that my allegations and authorities may [yet] be admitted to the glory of God, and the good of this realm, is my hope in God." To convince him of their own and of the royal good will, each of his noble visitors was loud in the praises of his conduct. Cromwell, pointedly adverting to the opposition of his friend, observed, "You, my lord, were born in a happy hour, I suppose ; for do or say what you will, the king will always take it well at your hands. And I must needs confess that in some things I have complained of you to his majesty, but all in vain ; for he will never give credit against you, whatever is laid to your charge : but let me or any other of the council be complained of, his grace will most seriously chide and fall out with us ; and therefore you are most happy, if you can keep you in this state." The king had also now desired Cranmer to send him a copy of the reasons that led him to oppose the Six Articles. It was prepared by his secretary Morice, who, crossing the Thames in a wherry with it, witnessed a diversion, not unusual in those days, of bear-baiting in a boat. The bear broke loose into the river, betook itself to the secretary's little vessel, followed by the dogs, and sunk it. The secretary was rescued from the danger he was in, but the book that now was floating in the water, fell into the hands of the bearward, who, when the secretary claimed it, desired a priest then present first to see what it might contain. The priest declared that, as it was a con-

futation of the Six Articles, the author of it might be hanged. The secretary, however, claimed it as his master's. The bearward, who is said to have been a bitter papistical enemy to Cranmer, now positively refused to restore it, and meditated a delivery of it at court. Morice was beforehand with him, and related the whole affair to Cromwell; who, when the bearward made his threatened appearance, severely reprehended his presumption in meddling with a privy-councillor's book, and thus rescued it from his possession. The secretary then took it away, again fairly copied it, (injured as it had probably been in the water) and four days after, through Cromwell, conveyed it to the king. This book, however, must be recorded among the lost writings of Cranmer.

The determinations of the Six Articles were these :—

I. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present.

II. That the communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds.

III. That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God.

IV. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

V. That the use of private masses ought to be continued, which as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them.

VI. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.

The enactments were, that if any should speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be adjudged heretics, to be burnt without any abjuration, and to forfeit their goods to the king. The preacher, or the obstinate disputant, against the other articles, was to be accounted a felon, and to suffer death without benefit of clergy. They,

who either in word or writing spoke against them, were for the first offence to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to forfeit their goods to him ; for the second, to die as felons. The marriages of the priests were declared void ; and the priest who still retained the woman he had married, was to be judged at once a felon ; while he with whom a concubine resided, was not to be so accounted before a second conviction, his punishment for the first being the forfeiture of his benefice and goods, and imprisonment during the royal pleasure. Nor were the women exempted in either case from the same penalties. Lastly, they who contemned or abstained from confession, or the sacrament, at the accustomed times, were liable to the punishments pronounced against the priest and his concubine.

The king was flattered by his parliament for the zeal and learning he had exhibited in this miserable labour of legislation. But by the German reformers his name was execrated for it. Melancthon, in an address to him, with a courtesy that could not but arrest his attention, yet with an intrepidity that perhaps might wring his heart, at once told him that the proceeding was monstrous ; that if the Romish prelates had advised it, it was his sanction that confirmed it, and that therefore all the German Protestants were grieved to behold him the instrument of others' cruelty. Latimer, Shaxton, Cranmer, and others, he believed to be in prison upon the occasion ; he wished them all the fortitude of Christians ; he admitted that nothing more honourable could befall them, than to suffer for the truth they maintained against the recent statute ; but he deprecated the shedding of their blood by a sovereign, of whom better hopes had been formed, and whose example it was expected would have occasioned other princes to abandon their persecutions. He warned the monarch, too, against the prelates now complying with his will, and assured him they were indissolubly bound to the see of Rome. He told him, that, while he pretended to reprobate, he was strengthening the tyranny of that see. In short, he analysed all the points of the statute, pronounced them impious and idolatrous, and implored him to with-

draw the sanction he had given them. Luther and others joined in this indignant censure. "I am glad," said Luther, in a letter to the Elector of Saxony, "that Henry has thrown off the mask. He had demanded to become head and defender of the Gospel in Germany. Away with such a head! His power and wealth have so inflated him, that he would be adored as a god. He is fit for a pope himself: so crafty is he, and designing."

However, the statute being passed, they who had effected the measure, now sought to continue all the outward glitter of religion which the reformers had laboured to remove. A Book of Ceremonies, to be used by the Church, was proposed. It contained many an expedient to protract the iron reign of superstition. It had been planned by Gardiner, Tunstal, and Stokesley. To adhere "to the old usages and traditions of the Church"—"to abandon no ceremony"—"not to fear thus to help things forward"—these had been measures recommended by those prelates to Sampson, bishop of Chichester, who, in 1539, was a prisoner in the Tower, and who, by confessing these and other matters, obtained his release. By Cranmer, however, the book was opposed; the convocation also refused to sanction it; and the king was not inclined to enforce it.

The king had now been a widower for more than two years, and he resolved in taking another wife. Cromwell fell into the fatal error of recommending a princess, Anne of Cleves, to whom, on being introduced and at once married, Henry conceived a rooted aversion. After a period of six months of merely nominal union, Convocation was applied to, and declared this marriage void, on the insufficient ground that the king had never in heart consented to it, or made the marriage a reality. Before the Convocation agreed to pronounce it void, Gardiner expatiated in favour of Henry's view, and examined witnesses to the purpose. The sentence of invalidity was then confirmed by the seal of Cranmer.

It is lamentable to remember, that it should have been the fate of Cranmer to preside over this assembly. That he was able to endure the office, is explicable only on the

ground that the servility of infatuation was universal, and that the decision was not at variance with the canonical casuistry of the age. That he had some expedient or other for reconciling his conscience to this ridiculous solemnity, may be collected, with certainty, from a letter which he afterwards addressed to the king, when Henry's next wife, Catherine Howard, was under sentence of death, and an attempt was made, on the part of the Duke of Cleves, to procure the restoration of her conjugal rights to his degraded sister. In this letter the archbishop says,—“I declined to move your grace to receive her in matrimony, from whom your majesty was, upon most just cause, divorced ; whereupon might grow great uncertainty of your grace's succession, with such trouble and unquietness to this realm, as heretofore hath not been seen.” The evil of a contested throne seems in those days to have been perpetually starting up, like an apparition, in the path of statesmen and ecclesiastics, to fright them from their customary sense of propriety and justice. And by some it has been suspected, that its terrors were now aggravated to the eye of Cranmer, by the impending fate of Cromwell, who, at this period, was imprisoned on the charge for which he suffered. This surmise, however (as we shall soon perceive), can scarcely stand a moment before the fact, that, upon another very critical occasion,—which also occurred subsequently to Cromwell's commitment to the Tower,—the archbishop displayed the most undaunted firmness, and was actually considered as a man doomed to destruction by his own temerity. And, besides, it must in all fairness be presumed, that he who could resist the command of the king to retire from the House of Lords, while the statute of the Six Articles was under discussion, would hardly have laid his hand on the cause of this divorce, if he had believed it to be altogether destitute of right.

Cromwell's execution was the next sad event of this tragical reign. In the midst of his disgrace he had been hunted down by the hatred of the nobility, and “baited by the rabble's curse :” and (as in the case of Anne Boleyn) the only voice raised in behalf of the fallen statesman was that of Archbishop Cranmer. Immedi-

ately on the arrest of the minister, he had endeavoured to recal the mind of the king to the long services of his favourite. The office here voluntarily undertaken by Cranmer, was one which required the utmost delicacy and address. To plead with a man like Henry, in the very plenitude of his power, was almost like talking to a drunken giant. A single injudicious syllable might make his passions blaze out with tenfold violence, and only bring down more swift and sure destruction upon the victim, whom the adventurous intercessor was labouring to save. Viewed by the light of these considerations, the letter of Cranmer to the king will appear to be the work of cordial friendship, directed by consummate prudence. He begins by expressing his sorrow and amazement that the Earl of Essex should be found a traitor. He describes Cromwell as a servant, such as no prince in this realm ever had. He declares his belief, that if John, Edward II., and Richard II., had possessed such a councillor, they would never have been so traitorously abandoned. He declares that he loved Cromwell as his own friend; but chiefly for the love which he seemed to bear towards the king. "But now," he adds, "if he be a traitor, I am sorry that I ever trusted him, and am glad that his treason is discovered in time. Alas! I bewail your grace herein; for I know not now whom your grace may trust." Having thus judiciously endeavoured to prevent any insurrection of the royal resentment or suspicion, he skilfully reverts to the diligence and fidelity of the accused, in order that this might be the last impression left by the address. "I pray God," he says, "continually, night and day, to send such a councillor in his place, whom your grace may trust, and who, for all his qualities, can and will serve your grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had."

The Bill of Attainder against Cromwell was placed before the House of Lords on the 17th of June. All that is known of Cranmer, with respect to the proceeding, is, that he was absent on its first reading. It passed rapidly with the Peers; but the Commons were less ex-

peditions. They detained it for ten days ; and, after all, they sent back another bill, which seems to have met with immediate acquiescence ; for it received the royal assent on the same day. If Cranmer, on this occasion, did not lift his arms against the torrent, it probably was, because the flood was so impetuous, that all opposition must have been nugatory. Among the nobles, the fallen minister had not a single friend ; and the king, or his prevailing counsellors, were fully resolved on his destruction. The piteous cry of the condemned man for mercy, after his attainder, was as powerless with his master, as the humane and generous letter of the archbishop had been before it. Both were like the whispering of the reed against the roar of the tempest ; and on the 28th of July Cromwell was led to the scaffold.

Henry was now greatly in the hands of the Romish party ; and the preservation of Cranmer from Cromwell's fate must be regarded as a special providence. The king had resolved, early in this year (1540), that a vigorous effort should be made to accomplish that most impracticable of all objects, the forcible establishment of religious harmony. With this view, on the 14th of April, the minister had opened the parliament, in a speech in which he complained, in his majesty's behalf, of the prevalent extremes of rashness and superstition. "The Scriptures," he said, "were now open to all ; but little else than gross perversion had hitherto been the result of this indulgence ; and the nation continued to be split into the two parties of Papists and of Heretics. His majesty was therefore finally resolved, that concord should be restored by a solemn inquiry into the scriptural verity, the result of which should be laid before his people." Conformably to this declaration a commission was nominated, consisting of various prelates and divines, with the archbishop at their head ; and, in the July following, an Act was passed, ordaining that the formulary to be agreed upon by the commissioners, should be received with implicit obedience, as the rule both of practice and belief.

A Romish bias speedily began to manifest itself in the deliberations of this assembly : and no sooner had

Cromwell been sent to the Tower, than a desperate effort was made to bear down the authority and resolution of the archbishop, and to extort from him a consent to a set of articles, which would have effectually re-established the dominion of error and superstition. Doubtless, to their great surprise, they found the primate immovable. In vain did they despatch to him two of the commissioners, bishops Heath and Skyp (of Rochester and Hereford), both of them personal friends of Cranmer, and both of them hitherto well disposed to the Protestant cause. In vain did these deserters acquit themselves of their disreputable office, by representing to the archbishop that the king was notoriously resolved on the publication of articles agreeable to the Romanists; and that his lordship might learn, from the approaching fate of Cromwell, how utterly hopeless would be all opposition to the royal pleasure. "Be-ware what you do," was Cranmer's reply: "the truth is but one; and, though the king is now under sinister information, I cannot believe that the truth will long be hidden from him; and, when he shall discover it, there will be an end of all his trust and confidence in you. I therefore adjure you to take heed in time, and to discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." This remonstrance must have covered his tempters with shame, though it unhappily failed to rally their integrity. The primate—finding that they and the rest of their brethren were still determined to persevere in their design—without further delay, represented the whole matter to the king. Nothing, probably, can have surpassed the astonishment of his adversaries at this hazardous resolution, except it were their secret exultation. They anticipated no other result from it, than the instant commitment of the archbishop, as an audacious abettor of heresy; and wagers are said to have been laid in London, that he would share the imprisonment and the fate of Cromwell. What, then, must have been the consternation of his enemies when they found that, instead of sending him to the Tower, the king had not only endured, but adopted his suggestions, and had given his sanction to a set of articles, such as the archbishop could approve! His honesty and courage seem

to have been generously appreciated by his master ; for, "from that day forward, there could neither counsellor, bishop, nor papist, win him out of the king's favour."

Nor was this the only defeat of Romish principles at this crisis. Notwithstanding the repeated injunctions which had, from time to time, been issued for providing every church with an English Bible, there were many parishes in England still unfurnished with the sacred volume. For this reason, a royal proclamation had been issued in May, to enforce the ordinance in question, on the penalty of forty shillings a-month, so long as the omission should continue. A new edition of the Bible had then recently appeared—the same which had been prepared in France, under the patronage and protection of Bonner, when he was ambassador at Paris, and an adherent of the Reformation. It had been subsequently completed in England, from the remainder of the copies which had escaped the fury of the French Inquisition ; and it now appeared in the form of a large folio, enriched with a noble preface by the archbishop, and consequently known by the title of *Cranmer's Bible* ; and this was the version which was now to be distributed. Bonner was, at this time, bishop of London, and entirely a different man from what he had been during the ascendancy of Cromwell. The promptness and precision with which he had faced about, to meet the changes of the time, were truly wonderful ! The vicar-general had been his patron and his friend, and to the good opinion of that minister he was chiefly indebted for the advancement of his fortunes. But no sooner was the Sejanus of the day in disgrace, than the eyes of the sagacious divine were instantly open to the delinquencies of his benefactor : and when Grafton, the printer, informed him, sorrowfully, of the Earl of Essex's apprehension, his reply was,—“What ! are you grieved at that ? it were well if he had been despatched long ago.” Of course the unsealing of the Scriptures was now no welcome order to the reclaimed prelate of London diocese. He was, however, compelled to acquiesce in the royal mandate ; and six Bibles were accordingly fixed at convenient places in his cathedral. The injunctions which he issued

to prevent the abuse of this indulgence were, in themselves, reasonable enough ; they required that the book should be devoutly and reverently perused, without tumult or interruption to the Divine service, and, above all, without any attempt at exposition. It might easily be foreseen that these awful cautions would be frequently violated or forgotten ; and, further, that in the fermentation of eager inquiry, a multitude of opinions, hostile to the ancient superstition, would develope themselves with considerable violence. Symptoms like these were seized upon by Bonner and his party, as a pretence for complaint against the evils of Biblical reading, and for a threat that the permission should be altogether withdrawn, if it were not used with more discretion. At this period the menace was abortive : but two years afterwards the exertions of the Romish faction were, unfortunately, more successful ; and the king was prevailed upon to recal his sanction from the free and public perusal of the Scriptures, and to suppress the practice for the remainder of his reign.

The archbishop effected, in this year, an important reform in his cathedral church at Canterbury ; but from the discharge of this pleasing duty he had to turn aside to a most perilous and burdensome one,—the laying before the king the most disgusting proofs of the infidelity of the Lady Catherine Howard, whom he had espoused in the room of Anne of Cleves. Henry, severely shocked by the information, at first refused to believe it. But the examinations of the lady herself, the trials of her paramours, and their confessions, soon confirmed all the accusations against her chastity. These are circumstantially detailed by Lord Herbert, Burnet, and others. Culpeper and Derham, the partners of her guilt, paid the forfeit of their lives before the year expired. To Catherine herself a respite of mercy continued till the middle of February ; and from the following letter of Cranmer to Henry in November—unknown to all our historians—it should seem that a remission of punishment by death had been actually promised to her. Perhaps such a promise had been made under the expectation of drawing from her further confessions. However, the lady was deceived. No commutation

of punishment was offered, and the sovereign cruelly violated the promise he had caused to be made. Cranmer visited her in the Tower. "I found her," he tells Henry, "in such lamentation and heaviness as I never saw no creature, so that it would have pitied any man's heart in the world to have looked upon her. And in that vehement rage she continued, as they informed me which be about her, from my departure from her till my return again, and then I found her, as it were, in a frenzy." He was to deliver the royal message to her, which he resolved to do in the following manner:—"First, to exaggerate the greatness of her demerits; then to declare unto her the justice of your grace's laws, and what she ought to suffer by the same; and, last of all, to signify unto her your most gracious mercy. But when I saw in what condition she was, I was fain to turn my purpose, and to begin at the last part first, to comfort her by your grace's benignity and mercy. For else the recital of your grace's laws, with the aggravation of her offences, might peradventure have driven her into some dangerous ecstasy, or else into a very frenzy; so that the words of comfort coming last might, peradventure, have come too late. And after I had declared your grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks unto your majesty, who had showed unto her more grace and mercy than she herself thought meet to sue for, or could have hoped of. And then for a time she began to be more temperate and quiet, saving that she still sobbed and wept."

But whatever idea of mercy had been entertained, none was ultimately shown to her. The ruthlessness of the age sent to the stake or the scaffold all such criminals, and no exception was made in favour of the wretched Catherine.

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VI.

THE KING'S BOOK—MARRIAGE OF HENRY WITH CATHARINE
PARR—CONSPIRACY AGAINST CRANMER, AND ITS FAILURE
—ANNE ASKEW—DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

A.D. 1542—1547.

THE year 1542 was partly spent in what may be termed an invisible struggle between the Romish and Protestant parties, each contending with the other in the production of a revised copy of *The Bishops' Book*,—now, however, called *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man*,—or, in more popular language, *The King's Book*. It came forth to the world with a preface in the name of his majesty, and was therefore understood to speak emphatically the sentiments of the Supreme Head of the Church of England. If we except some additional matter respecting free will, justification, good works, and prayer for departed souls, it is in substance the same as the former compilation. But the breath of Romanism had passed over it, and tarnished, here and there, the lustre and purity of several important doctrines. For instance, the doctrine of our original depravity and corruption, which was expressly, and somewhat copiously, maintained in the *Institution*, is scarcely alluded to in the corresponding passage of the *Erudition*. Again, in the one, the sufferings of our Lord are described as an expiation or propitiation, as well for original as for actual sin ; the other, briefly and generally, acknowledges the good offices of the Saviour, as performed by a high-priest, for the remission of sin ; but it principally insists on the exemplary patience and meekness with which those sufferings were endured. *The Bishops' Book* declares, that if there were no other

commandment besides the tenth, that one alone would be sufficient for the condemnation of every man, if God should enter into "strait judgment" with him. But this confession was much too strong for the digestion of a Romish conscience; and, therefore, we shall look in vain for anything approaching to it in *The King's Book*, which confines the guilt of coveting, to a deliberate design on the possessions of our neighbour. The spirit which withstood the German divines, and framed the scourge of the Six Articles, is still more clearly manifested in the later exposition of the sacrament of matrimony. The *Institution* had left the Christian liberty of all men—whether lay or clerical—untouched in this particular; while its successor seems to recognise the lawfulness of vows of celibacy. To confine ourselves to one more instance: *The Bishops' Book* expresses the great sacramental doctrine in language which might almost have satisfied a Lutheran; whereas the change of substance is maintained by *The King's Book* in terms much more carefully accommodated to Romish ears.

Through the several dioceses this formulary was immediately circulated. In that of Canterbury a learned and earnest preacher was disposed to impugn it, if the archbishop had not forbidden him. For though, indeed, it possessed not all that Cranmer desired, he doubted not that the instruction which it allowed would encourage further inquiry. If the seven sacraments also were now readmitted, other delusive satisfactions of Romanism were rejected. Above all, the covenant between God and man in Christ, with the conditions of it, was now plainly and sincerely declared.

In September, 1543, Cranmer proceeded to another visitation of his diocese, when presentments were made, of which some are curious, as exposing the ignorance and prejudices of Romanists, others as marking the progress of the Reformation. From the Six Articles one of his clergy had not scrupled to dissent, in preaching against confession to a priest. Ridley, who had now been the chaplain of Cranmer about three years, was also charged as having affirmed, that auricular confession was but a

mere positive law, and ordained as a godly means for the sinner to come to the priest for counsel, but not to be found in Scripture ; as having pronounced some ecclesiastical ceremonies of the time, beggarly ; and as having caused the *Te Deum* to be sung commonly in English, in the church of which he was the vicar. The brother of the archbishop, who was archdeacon of Canterbury, was presented for an offence of three years' standing ; that of having removed from a church three tapers that were burning before the altar, and of having destroyed an image. Against another member of the cathedral it was alleged, that he taught the use of prayer in our own tongue ; that we mock God, and of God are mocked, if we pray in an unknown tongue. On the other hand, there were preachers charged not only with as yet declining to proclaim the regal supremacy, but as wholly disregarding the injunctions that had been issued. Images were still retained as objects of veneration in some of the churches. Holy water was yet proclaimed as efficacious against thunder, lightning, and evil spirits. Some of the adherents to the holy Nun of Kent and her absurdities were now also among the men of the old learning. One of these was described as thus attacking the Reformers :—"Beware of these false preachers," said he, "which preach to you new fangles. Will you know how to discern a true preacher from a false ? You have a dog, which is your conscience. Whosoever you shall come to any sermon, ask your dog what he saith to it. If he say it be good, then follow it ; but if your dog bark against it and say it is naught, then beware, and follow it not." This ridiculous orator was one of the six preachers in the cathedral of Canterbury. A prebendary, too, in the same church now affirmed, that images had power to help the sick, who made vows to them. Hence the remark of Cranmer to another member of this refractory body, that an image was an idol, as certainly it is, when votive offerings or precatory addresses are thus made to it.

Soon after this visitation Cranmer assembled the prebendaries and preachers of his cathedral before him at Croydon, when he rebuked the ignorant, argued with the

pertinacious, and exhorted all. But the greater part of them were his enemies, and returned not without a determination to plot his ruin. They returned, indeed, with an official declaration from himself, ill-calculated to extinguish the spirit of party, that it had been the king's pleasure to have three of the six preachers of the old learning, and three of the new. The prebendaries were chiefly men of the old learning, to which they knew Cranmer to be the most steady and successful opponent. They were therefore attached to Gardiner, who now aided their combinations. By a report, that the Bishop of Winchester had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer, they were greatly encouraged. After an abundance of meetings, after forming a voluminous collection of hearsays and reports, they charged the archbishop with having deterred from preaching those who were averse to the new learning; with having caused certain images, not abused (as they pretended) to superstitious purposes, to be taken down; and with having maintained a secret correspondence with the German reformers, as well as with supporting in that country, by his bounty, several of their friends. The king soon detected the conspiracy. The list of the accusations he carried with him on an evening excursion, over the water, to Lambeth; and then, meeting with the archbishop, he accosted him: "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent!" Cranmer, equally surprised that the members of his own church, and magistrates whom he had honoured and obliged, should deal so treacherously with him, required only a commission, by which the truth of what was alleged might be ascertained. The commission was granted. The principal accusers shrunk from their responsibility. To others of them the accused proposed interrogatories, which, while they convicted them of falsehood, ingratitude, and disingenuousness, conducted them to the abode of perjury—a prison. In the houses of some of the prebendaries, and of gentlemen in the country engaged in the conspiracy, letters were found from Gardiner and others opposed to Cranmer. To some of the conspirators the archbishop showed these evidences of their guilt; and among them were those who

had been accustomed daily to eat at his table, and who by his munificence had been promoted in their profession. By supplicatory letters, by an acknowledgment of their guilt as the effect of subornation, they at length obtained their pardon. Cranmer, then casting up his hands to heaven, first acknowledged the goodness of the king in leading to the detection of the plot. He next implored the Almighty to turn the hearts of his slanderers, and entreated them to ask of God the forgiveness of the usage, which at their hands, of all other, he certainly had not deserved. While he lamented the present violations of truth and fidelity, he adverted to the prophecies of Christ that such defections would be found. That they might soon for ever cease was his prayer; and that they who were guilty of them might be led to a better mind, was the gentle admonition with which he dismissed them.

In 1544, prayers in the English tongue were directed to be generally used; a mandate to this purpose from the king in June, of which Cranmer himself is believed to have been the writer, having been addressed through the primate to all the prelates of the realm. It promulgates that, "calling to our remembrance the miserable state of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel wars, hatred, and dissensions, as no place of the same (being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner) remaineth in good peace, agreement, and concord; the help and remedy whereof, far exceeding the power of any man, must be called for of Him who only is able to grant our petitions, and never forsaketh nor repelleth any that firmly believe and faithfully call on Him; unto whom also the examples of Scripture encourageth us, in all these and other our troubles and necessities, to fly and to cry for aid and succour: Being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general processions in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes, of this our realm, said and sung with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth, forasmuch as heretofore the people, partly for lack of good instruction, and calling, and partly for that they understood no part of such prayers and suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly to the pro-

cession when the same have been commanded heretofore ; we have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue, which we send you herewith, signifying unto you, that for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earnest desire to the setting forward of the glory of God and the true worshipping of his most holy name within that province committed by us unto you : we have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed and after slenderly considered, as other our injunctions, to our no little marvel, have been used ; but to the intent that, as well the same as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth by preaching good exhortations and otherwise to the people, in such sort as they, feeling the goodly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the same. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will answer unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these prayers and suffrages aforesaid to be published, frequented, and openly used in all towns, churches, villages, and parishes, of your own diocese, but also to signify this our pleasure unto all other bishops of your province, willing and commanding them in our name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the same accordingly."

A litany, with suffrages and an exhortation to prayer, was accordingly published by the king's printer on the 16th of June, 1544. Another edition, with the notes for singing it, as used in the king's chapel, appeared at the same time. The invocation to the Virgin, to saints, and to angels, for their prayers, as yet was not discontinued. In this compilation also is inserted a petition of deliverance, which was removed in the reign of Elizabeth, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities. The rest of it is the litany which we still use, but with other collects at the end of it, and the whole is called a Prayer of Procession. Some devotional exercises entitled Psalms, collected from several parts of Scripture, but principally the Psalms, form a part of this useful volume. To these is added a paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, in which there are expressions in the fourth petition that seem, says Burnet, "to come near the true sense

of the presence of Christ in the sacrament ; for by daily bread, as some of the ancients thought, the sacrament of the Eucharist is understood, which in the paraphrase is thus expressed : the lively bread of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious and blessed blood which was shed for us on the cross. This agrees with our present sense, that Christ is present, not as he is now in heaven, but as he was on the cross ; and, that being a thing passed, he can only be present in a type and a memorial."

Gardiner, it was said, "had bent his bow, and the shaft was aimed at certain of the head deer." The sequel proved that, among the game on which his eye was fixed, was Archbishop Cranmer, and a personage still more exalted, even the queen-consort of England, Catharine Parr. This lady was the widow of Nevil, Lord Latimer, and had been promoted by Henry, in the course of this year, to the dangerous honours of his sixth wife. She was a person of singular virtue, intelligence, and piety ; and, in her heart, a decided friend to the doctrines of the Reformation. Her attachment to Protestant principles was sufficiently well known to reanimate, in some degree, the hopes of the Reformers, and to make her an object of hostility and aversion to the papal party, and, more especially, to the Bishop of Winchester. How nearly he, and his confederates, succeeded in ultimately accomplishing her ruin, is related in all the histories of the time. She was, however, most fortunately preserved from their machinations, and was spared to render effective assistance to the Protestant cause in the course of the succeeding reign.

Cranmer's deliverance was equally remarkable. By a party in the privy council he was impeached to the king, as "having with his learned men so infected the whole realm with their doctrines that three parts of the land were become heretics"—a striking acknowledgment of the progress of the Reformation. It was pretended that his proceedings might be followed by commotions, similar to those occasioned by the foreign reformers, and therefore it was required that he might be committed to the Tower. The king denied not the request, but commanded that by

the council he should first be heard. Meantime at midnight, before the day on which he was to attend at the council, the king sent to him at Lambeth, desiring him instantly to wait on him. On his arrival Henry frankly told him what he had done. "Whether I have done well or no, what say you, my lord?" Cranmer replied, that he was thankful for the information that thus put him upon his guard, and that he was content to the proposed imprisonment, in order to the trial of his doctrine, if he might be fairly heard. Nor did he doubt, he added, that his majesty would allow him to be otherwise used. "What fond simplicity have you," said then the king, "so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that your enemies may take advantage against you! Do you not know, that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you and condemn you; who now, while you are at liberty, dare not once open their lips nor appear before you? No, not so, my lord; I have better regard to you than to permit your enemies thus to overthrow you, and therefore I will have you come to the council to which you will be summoned to-morrow. Then, when they open to you the accusations, ask them, yourself a privy councillor, that you may have such favour as they themselves would ask, namely, to have your accusers brought before you. If they will not fairly hear you, and are determined to commit you to the Tower, from them appeal to me, and give them this my ring, by which they will understand that from their hands into my own I have taken your cause; the ring which I now give you being used for no other purpose than to call matters from the determination of the council to my own."

The next morning brought the order for the archbishop to appear before the council. He attended; but, before he was admitted into the council-room, he was kept some time waiting at the door among servants. This indignity was instantly communicated by a friend of the archbishop to the king. "Have they served him so?" said Henry: "it is well enough; I shall talk with them by and by." Being called into the room, the archbishop was informed of the charges brought against him, and of the consequent

determination of the council to make him prisoner. In vain he required the appearance of his accusers. "I am sorry," he then exclaimed, "that you thus compel me to appeal from your authority to the sovereign;" and immediately produced the royal token. The Lord Russell, with an oath, then addressed his discomfited brethren: "I told you, my lords, that the king would never suffer Cranmer to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason." The affair, therefore, now came at once before Henry. "I thought," said he to the adversaries of the archbishop, "that I had a discreet council; I find that I am deceived. Ye have made a slave of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Would you like to be so served yourselves? Understand that to him I acknowledge myself, by the faith I owe to God, many ways beholden; that I account him as faithful a man towards his prince as ever was prelate in the realm; and that, therefore, they who love me ought to regard him." The Duke of Norfolk answered, "We meant no manner of hurt to my Lord of Canterbury in requiring his committal to the Tower; it was our trust that, after his trial, he might be set at liberty to his greater honour." The king seemed to question their motive. "I pray you," said he, "use not my friends thus: I perceive now well enough how the world goes among you: there remains malice; let it instantly be avoided." The king had no sooner thus spoken than their reconciliation was tendered to the archbishop, and by him accepted. He now verified what was repeatedly said of him,—*"Do my Lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever."* The king then sent them to partake of the archbishop's hospitality at Lambeth Palace. But in this whole affair there is certainly something singular. It is difficult to say whether Henry, overpersuaded by the Romish party, was at first in earnest, and afterwards changed his resolution; or whether he took this method to check the frowardness of the archbishop's enemies."

Indeed, they began now to feel assured, that the king was resolved to protect him from all their machinations; and therefore during the remainder of this reign, they were quiet. At this time, too, he certainly possessed suffi-

cient influence to promote many who coincided in his opinions ; and numbered on his own side more prelates than at any time before. To the Primer, with Psalms and Lessons out of the Old and New Testament, in 1545, he had also obtained from his sovereign a declaration in the preface, that "prayer is used or made with right and perfect understanding, if we sing with our spirit, and sing with our mind or understanding ; and that, in consideration hereof, his majesty had set out and given to his subjects a determinate form of praying in their own mother-tongue, to the intent that such as are ignorant of any strange or foreign speech, may have what to pray in their own acquainted and familiar language with fruit and understanding." In vain did some violent Romanists at Oxford evince their rage, in burning this valuable book, and in expressing their desire of circulating "the old Latin with the old ignorance, and that the printers should in that language only print the Primer." The book was gladly received, several editions of it being dispersed through the kingdom.

But against those who denied transubstantiation, persecution was now again cruelly exercised. Among such were Shaxton, the friend of Cranmer, who resigned his bishopric of Salisbury when the Six Articles were enacted, and Anne Askew, the sister of a Lincolnshire knight. The former had remained in prison, as he had boldly asserted his disbelief of the corporal presence, since his resignation. The latter, married to a member of the Church of Rome, by whom she was deserted because of her aversion to the tenets of that church, was a recent prisoner on account of the same denial of credence. In these proceedings there is nothing to implicate Cranmer. To his friend Shaxton were sent the bishops of London and Worcester, Dr. Robinson, and Dr. Redmayn, in order to convince him of the heresy imputed to him ; and they succeeded. He recanted. The latter disdained to follow his example : "he came to me," said the lady, (the sad historian of her own case,) "and counselled me to recant as he had done : I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have

been born." She suffered at the stake. Among her judges were Bonner and Gardiner, as I have before observed, whom she names; but as to Cranmer, neither herself, nor Foxe, nor Lord Herbert, nor Burnet, nor Strype, nor Collier, offer a word. Dr. Lingard however asserts, that she was condemned to the flames "by the archbishop and other prelates." But Cranmer could not be concerned in the proceeding, any more than he was respecting Frith, who was tried and condemned upon the same accusation, as the lady now before us was, by "the ordinary," who in both cases was "the Bishop of London." Inferior prelates might assist him. But the metropolitan would not descend to the court of a suffragan. Nor was Cranmer guilty of any share in the detestable cruelty of Wriothesley, the chancellor, and Sir Richard Rich, who, after her condemnation, endeavoured, but in vain, by the horrors of the rack, to extort from her confessions that might affect others, and to shake her own firmness. In truth, Cranmer seems to have retired altogether from this miserable scene. The doctrine, which the martyred lady disbelieved, himself was upon the eve of abandoning.

The reign of Henry was now closing, but not with acts of mercy. Entertaining an opinion that the family of the Howards were too aspiring, or led to believe that they were forming some projects subversive of the changes he had made, he directed bills of attainder to be formed against his old minister, the Duke of Norfolk, and against his son, the gallant and accomplished Surrey. The latter perished on the scaffold, while the agonies of death were fast approaching the relentless monarch who had assented to the execution. The former would have shared the same fate, if Henry had not died in the night previous to the day appointed for his suffering. For the condemnation of the duke twenty-seven peers, among whom were some of the first nobility of the country, voted. Cranmer, it appears, was present in the House of Lords, when the bill of attainder passed through it. But of his interference at any stage of its progress there is no evidence. The privy council wisely decreed not to stain the entrance of a new

reign with blood ; and to imprisonment, instead of death, the duke was then adjudged. To the archbishop this was an opportunity for the exercise of that forgiveness in regard to personal opposition, which so often he displayed. The duke had long been his enemy.

Cranmer had at this moment, as it were, left the chamber of the deceased king. Lord Herbert seems to place little reliance on insinuations by Romanists, that Henry in his last hours was inclined to a reconciliation with the see of Rome. That he died religiously and penitently, the noble historian admits, while he briefly notices that Cranmer then attended him. An older historian, whose accuracy has rarely been questioned by any party, the learned Bishop Godwin, has left us a detail of the interview too interesting to be overpassed, and too circumstantial to be discredited. Burnet, without referring to the authority, briefly follows it. "The physicians, finding apparent symptoms of approaching death, wished some of the king's friends to admonish him of his estate ; which at last Sir Anthony Denny undertook ; who, going directly to the fainting king, told him in few but plain words, that the hope of human help was vain ; wherefore he besought his majesty to raise his thoughts to heaven, and, bethinking him of his forepassed life, through Christ to implore God's mercy : an advice not very acceptable to him. But, finding it grounded upon the judgment of the physicians, he submitted himself to the hard law of necessity ; and, reflecting upon the course of his life, which he much condemned, professed himself confident that through Christ's infinite goodness, all his sins, although they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. Being then demanded, whether he desired to confer with any divines, 'With no other,' said he, 'but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him as yet : I will first repose myself a little, and as I then find myself will determine accordingly.' After the sleep of an hour or two, finding himself fainting, he commanded that the archbishop, then at Croydon, should be sent for in all haste ; who, using all possible speed, came not till the king was speechless. As soon as he came the king took him by the hand ; the archbishop

exhorting him to place all his hope in God's mercies through Christ, and beseeching him that if he could not in words, he would by some sign or other, testify his hope: he then wrung the archbishop's hand as hard as he could, and shortly after expired."

VII.

EDWARD VI.—THE HOMILIES AND COMMUNION SERVICE—
THE PRIMER AND CATECHISM.

A.D. 1547—1548.

CRANMER now found himself, by the will of the late king, at the head of a regency, by which, during Edward's minority, the kingdom was to be governed. Of the sixteen distinguished men who constituted this council, the greater part inclined to the Protestant cause. In church matters, the primate naturally had a potential voice; in secular affairs, he was guided by those whose bias led them to political objects.

On the 20th of February, 1547, the young king was crowned by the archbishop. The ceremonies were abridged, on account of the tender age of Edward; and, instead of a sermon, the following brief address was delivered by Cranmer:—

“Most dread and royal sovereign,—The promises your highness hath made here, at your coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the Bishop of Rome's sense, when you commit anything distasteful to that see, to hit your majesty in the teeth, as Pope Paul III., late bishop of Rome, sent to your royal father, saying, ‘Didst thou not promise, at our permission of thy coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, and dost thou run to heresy? For the breach of this thy promise knowest thou not, that ’tis in our power to dispose of thy sword and sceptre to whom we please?’ We, your majesty's clergy, do humbly conceive, that this promise reacheth not at your highness's sword, spiritual or

temporal, or in the least at your highness swaying the sceptre of this your dominion, as you and your predecessors have had them from God. Neither could your ancestors lawfully resign up their crowns to the Bishop of Rome or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then taken upon that ceremony.

"The bishops of Canterbury for the most part have crowned your predecessors, and anointed them kings of this land. Yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe them conditions to take or to leave their crowns, although the bishops of Rome would encroach upon your predecessors by their act and oil, that in the end they might possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of their crowns at their pleasure. But the wiser sort will look to their claws and clip them.

"The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility; yet neither direct force nor necessity. They be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be God's anointed; not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained; of the sword, which is authorized: of these persons, which are elected by God, and endued with the gifts of his Spirit for the better ruling and guiding of his people.

"The oil, if added, is but a ceremony. If it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for the person or bishop that doth anoint a king, it is proper to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.

"To condition with monarchs upon these ceremonies, the Bishop of Rome (or other bishops owning his supremacy) hath no authority: but he may faithfully declare what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers, that is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the Bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your royal majesty what things your highness is to perform.

"Your majesty is God's vicegerent, and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed; the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects; and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josiah, who reformed the church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents on those kings who performed not these things, the old law shows how the Lord revenged his quarrel; and on those kings who fulfilled these things, he poured forth his blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah, in the Book of the Kings, thus: 'Like unto him there was no king, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.' This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days.

"Being bound by my function to lay these things before your royal highness; the one as a reward, if you fulfil, the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect them; yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances; much less to draw up indentures between God and your majesty, or to say you forfeit your crown, with a clause for the Bishop of Rome, as have been done by your majesty's predecessors, King John, and his son Henry, of this land. The Almighty God, of His mercy, let the light of his countenance shine upon your majesty, grant you a prosperous and happy reign, defend you and save you: and let your subjects say, Amen."

The fall of the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, and the elevation of Lord Hertford as protector independent of the other regents, almost immediately followed the coronation. In the former, the Romish party now lost a powerful champion; in the latter, Cranmer found a steady friend. To

the views of the archbishop, the prelates of York and Ely were at this time also serviceable, as was he of Rochester also, now on the eve of translation to Lincoln. But the greatest aid which, both now and henceforward, he obtained, was from the learning, zeal, and prudence of Ridley, his chaplain, not as yet however the bishop-elect of Rochester, nor designed as such by Henry, as Burnet erroneously describes him. Ridley had now abandoned, more than a year, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and had communicated to Cranmer his reasons for so doing. Their conferences, and the researches occasioned by them, soon convinced the archbishop that this would be the great and important point of the Reformation in doctrine. But he proceeded with his usual caution. He did not as yet avow a complete concurrence in renouncing the belief of the Romish Church. His answers to queries, however, preparatory to converting the service of the mass into a form of communion, clearly show that his mind was disencumbered of that belief. These will presently solicit our notice. His chaplain, in the Lent of 1547, was also employed in preaching against the idolatrous veneration of images, holy water, and other superstitious ceremonies. Of such abuses Cranmer, in the preceding reign, had repeatedly urged the suppression. Ere a year had passed in the present, he obtained an order of the council to forbid the processions with tapers on Candlemas day, the giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, and the carrying of palms on Palm Sunday; and, almost immediately afterwards, another order for the removal of images from the churches.

Cranmer was now rejoicing in more freedom of agency than he had ever known before. During the reign of Henry there was a "numbing spell" upon his exertions—an influence which fettered every movement, and filled his own heart and that of his friends with apprehension and misgiving. The feelings of those who resisted change were often so fiercely reflected from the royal countenance, that the spirit of Cranmer, though not subdued, was frequently cast down; so that, instead of raising his voice like a trumpet, he was compelled at times to whisper, as it were, out of the dust. But the terrors of the ecclesiastical dic-

tatorship were now removed, and the primate felt that he could breathe freely. Nevertheless, his habitual caution never for a moment deserted him. He was prepared to proceed vigorously, but always with deliberation. His first object was to ascertain distinctly the actual condition of the Church; and, with this view, it was determined that a royal visitation should be holden throughout the kingdom, and that, until it was completed, all ordinary jurisdiction should be entirely suspended, and all ministers inhibited from preaching in any churches but their own.

This wise and salutary measure, though resolved upon in April, was not carried into execution till the following September. The interval, however, was not suffered to pass away unprofitably. It was felt that the want of sound parochial instruction was among the most urgent necessities of the Church, and the clergy were unhappily in a state of such notorious ignorance that it was necessary for their rulers to furnish them with the words of edification. On this account the archbishop was extremely anxious that a book of *Homilies* should be prepared, with the least possible delay, such as might be suited to the comprehension of simple and unlettered men. And, in order to avoid the suspicion of any insidious object, the Bishop of Winchester was invited to join in the task. With his usual doggedness he positively refused. It was to no purpose to remind him, that the design had, in fact, originated with the late king, who, so long ago as 1542, had projected a similar compilation. All this Gardiner could not deny; but then, he was pleased to observe that, since that time, God had graciously endowed his majesty with "the gift of pacification;" and further, that all such "devices" had been "extinguished" by the authority of the Convocation. The primate and his associates could perceive no necessity for this "pacific" abstinence from the instruction of the people; and, finding Gardiner inflexible, they addressed themselves to the business without his aid. Twelve homilies were the produce of their labours, four of which may, with the highest probability, be ascribed to Cranmer himself. As a further aid to the people in searching the Scriptures, it was determined that the *Paraphrase of the New Testa-*

ment, by Erasmus, should be translated into English. A portion of this work had already been completed by Nicolas Udal (afterwards Canon of Windsor), and other learned men, under the patronage of Catharine Parr, and during the life of Henry. The remainder was not in readiness till the year 1549. The parts which were now finished, consisting of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, were put forth by the royal authority; and injunctions were issued requiring that every parish should be provided with a copy of this paraphrase, to be deposited in the church; and also with copies of the twelve homilies, for the purpose of being publicly read by each minister to his congregation.

In November the parliament was assembled, and at the same time a convocation of the clergy; Cranmer then informing them, "that it had been the custom in England, in the first year of the reign of every prince, to summon a parliament, and likewise to call a synod; and that therefore it was now the command of the king, and the expectation of his council, that the prelates and clergy should consult among themselves how rightly to settle the true religion of Christ." On the 22d of that month the Convocation submitted, that the ecclesiastical law might be examined and promulged, according to the statute in the reign of Henry; and that the labours of a committee for examining, reforming, and publishing, the order of divine service, might be produced; that the clergy of the lower house might sit, as in former times, in the lower house of parliament, and that the payment of the first-fruits for benefices might be moderated. On the last day of the month, the form of an ordinance, delivered by the archbishop, for receiving the body of our Lord under both kinds, namely, of bread and wine, was exhibited and read, and on the 2d of December was unanimously adopted.

Before this decision was made, written questions, as in the former reign, were circulated; and the answers of several prelates upon the great subject of the Eucharist have been preserved. Those of Cranmer, which apparently led to the production of our first Communion Service, were as follow:—

To the first question, "Whether the sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of one man for another, or to be received of every man for himself?" Cranmer answers, "The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but to be received of every man for himself."

To the second, "Whether the receiving of the said sacrament of one man doth avail and profit any other?" he replies, "The receiving of the said sacrament by one man doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same."

To the third, "What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass?" his answer is, "The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is not so called because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people (for that was done but once by himself upon the cross); but is so called because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross."

To the fourth, "Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ's institution?" he replies, "The mass by Christ's institution consisteth in those things which be set forth in the evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. x. and xi."

To the fifth, "What time the accustomed order began first in the Church, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament?" he answers, "I think the use, that the priest alone did receive the sacrament without the people, began not within six or seven hundred years after Christ."

To the sixth, "Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm?" his reply is, "I think it more agreeable to the Scripture and primitive Church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the people should receive the sacrament with the priest."

To the seventh, "Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue, that is to say, priests hired to sing for souls departed?" his answer is, "I think it not convenient that satisfactory masses should continue."

To the eighth, "Whether the gospel ought to be taught, at the time of the mass, to the understanding of the people

being present?" he replies, "I think it very convenient that the Gospel concerning the death of Christ and our redemption should be taught to the people in the mass."

To the ninth, "Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?" he answers, "I think it convenient to use the vulgar tongue in the mass, except in certain mysteries, whereof I doubt."

To the tenth and last, "When the reservation of the sacrament and the hanging up of the same began?" his reply is, "The reservation of the sacrament began, I think, six or seven hundred years after Christ; the hanging up, I think, began of late time."

The Order of the Communion, in March 1547-8, now appeared with the royal proclamation, stating the consent of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, "that, agreeably to Christ's holy institution, the most blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ should thenceforth be commonly delivered and ministered unto all persons within our realm of England and Ireland, and other our dominions, under both kinds." The office opened with an exhortation to be read by the minister on the Sunday or holiday preceding the administration of the sacrament; and it required those who might still make choice of auricular confession to the priest, not to censure such as thought a general confession to God sufficient, and those who confessed only to God, not to be offended with such as applied to auricular confession. The minister, having himself received the sacrament, was directed then to address the people in the form which is still retained (though not in the same part of the office) in our present Communion Service; after which the impenitent were intreated by him to withdraw, the penitent to draw near, and then the General Confession, as it now stands, followed, together with the General Absolution, preceded by a declaration, which in the entire liturgy that soon was formed is omitted, of the power of the Church to absolve penitent sinners. Burnet has contradicted himself, and misled later ecclesiastical historians, in saying that the order was received, throughout the kingdom, without any opposition. He had, just before, more correctly stated, that they who

were for the old superstition were much troubled to find private confession thus left indifferent ; that a general confession also of sins was to be used, with which they apprehended that most would content themselves, and that the accustomed absolution and indulgences would be laid aside, as indeed they soon were. The new office was therefore not received with general approbation. There were prelates, too, that strengthened, by their equivocal conduct in respect to it, the aversion of the Romanists ; and there were some of the parochial clergy who hoped to excite, by their account of it, disaffection to the government. To restrain the folly of such preachers, to allow none, indeed, now to preach who were not licensed by the lord protector or the archbishop, a proclamation was immediately issued.

- The repeal of the Six Articles now gave the clergy the freedom which was so much needed. And to a proposition that all the canons and laws, which had hitherto forbidden priests to marry, or had proscribed such as were already married, should cease and be utterly void, assent was now also immediately given by a large majority, of whom, it is curious to relate, many were then single, and never afterwards availed themselves of the right to wed, while several of the opponents to the propositions hastened to enter into the conjugal state. But the parliamentary concurrence in this proceeding was not obtained before February 1548-9 ; nor then without opposition. The preamble to the Act, however, thus justified the triumphant measure : " Great filthiness of living, with other inconveniences," it stated, " had followed on the laws that compelled chastity, and prohibited marriage ; so that it was better that the clergy should be suffered to marry, than to be so restrained. Therefore all laws and canons that had been made against it, being made only by human authority, are repealed ; so that all spiritual persons, of what degree soever, might lawfully marry, if they married according to the order of the Church." A proviso was added, that because many divorces of priests had been made after the Six Articles were enacted, and that consequently the women might have married again, all these divorces should be confirmed. This concession, however, was censured by the violent of

the Romish party ; but was defended, with great learning, in books that were written by the most distinguished divines of our Reformed Church. Yet their opponents still pronounced the Act a connivance, rather than a direct allowance. About three years afterwards, therefore, another Act was passed, declaring that as many took occasion from words in the former, to say that the marriage of the clergy was only permitted, as usury and other unlawful things were ; and thus spake slanderously of such marriages, accounting the children begotten in them illegitimate, to the high dishonour of the king and parliament, and the learned clergy of the realm, who had determined that the laws against the marriages of priests were most unlawful by the law of God ; it was enacted that such marriages should be esteemed good and valid.

The next religious formulary of the present reign was an excellent manual of prayers for private use, suitable to all sorts and conditions of men, bearing the old title of the *Primer* ; and was first published at the close of 1547. In the next year followed *A Catechism, or Short Instruction into Christian Religion for the singular Commodity and Profit of Children and Young People* ; which is usually denominated *Cranmer's Catechism*. It is a translation from a Latin work, which was itself a translation from the German, by Justus Jonas, the father of him of the same names at this time resident in Lambeth Palace. The younger Justus Jonas, and three other distinguished persons among the Reformers, who had fled from Germany early in 1548, rather than comply with the temporary rule of faith and worship, entitled the Interim, which the emperor resolved to enforce by the sword, brought with them from Melancthon commendatory letters to Cranmer, by whom they were now courteously received and hospitably entertained. The elder Jonas was the friend of Melancthon ; and Melancthon probably thought that the translation of the Catechism would be a proper accompaniment to the epistle, which was to introduce the son of his friend to the archbishop. The English translation appeared, before the close of 1548, with a dedication by the archbishop to the king, in which he pays a grateful tribute to the memory of

Henry, complains of negligence in the education of youth, and that the "ancient and laudable ceremony of confirmation" had been improperly administered. Two printers were employed upon the impression. The title professes no more than that by the archbishop the book was set forth, overseen, and corrected. "My lord of Canterbury," said Dr. Rowland Taylor who had been his chaplain, "made a Catechism to be translated into English; which book was not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name; and truly that book for the time did much good."

But the translated Catechism soon gave place to a native English one, which was probably ordered by Cranmer. It was inserted into the first liturgy of Edward, (1549,) in the office of Confirmation, and continued in the second. With our present Church Catechism it agreed almost word for word, as far as it went, which was to the explanation of the Lord's Prayer. Every sixth week at the least the curate of each parish was enjoined to teach it. The same excellent method of instruction was soon adopted, by those who favoured the Reformation in Scotland. In January 1551-2, it was agreed at a provincial meeting of the clergy in Edinburgh, that a Catechism, containing an explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, as "ane commone and catholick instruction" for the people, should be published, and by the ministers be diligently taught. Immediately after the publication of our Articles of Religion in 1553, the *Short Catechism*, already mentioned, was printed in English as well as Latin; although Archbishop Wake speaks of it as being only in the latter language; and the Articles were subjoined to it. It has been by some ascribed to Ponet, or Poinet, afterwards Bishop of Rochester and finally of Winchester; by others to Nowell, dean of St. Paul's. Ridley was also charged as the compiler of it, but unjustly. But "whoever was the author, the archbishop we may conclude to be the furtherer and recommender of it to the king; it being Cranmer's great design by Catechisms, and Articles of Religion, and plain Expositions of fundamental truths, to instil right principles into the minds of the youth and common people, for the more effectual rooting out of popery that had been

so long entertained by the industrious nursing up the nation in ignorance." Cranmer, indeed, publicly owned in his answers to the commissioners of Mary, in the last proceedings against him at Oxford, that it was begun by his advice and digested under his inspection. Some of the witnesses against him, in these proceedings, testified the same. Of this Catechism the very learned and excellent Archbishop Wake has again spoken not very accurately, it has been observed, when he says, "Here I take the complete model of our Church Catechism to have been first laid : to the explication of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, was added a short account of the two sacraments." The sacraments do not, as is here implied, constitute a separate and the last part of the work ; but are introduced, under the ninth article of the Creed, as some of the external parts of religion, or *cultus Dei* ; and the mode of administration and design of them are delivered, chiefly in the words of Scripture, but not their appropriate nature, as outward signs of inward grace. The Catechism, as it now stands in our Liturgy, received not the present explanation of the sacraments till the reign of James the First.

VIII.

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER—INSURRECTION IN THE WEST—
VARIOUS DISORDERS—JOAN BOCHER.

A.D. 1548.

THE year 1548 is memorable for the commencement of our *Book of Common Prayer*. Cranmer, who had presided over the committee by whom the Communion Service had been prepared, now occupied the chair in the consideration of an equally important work. Goodrich, bishop of Ely, Skyp, bishop of Hereford, Thirlby of Westminster, Day of Chichester, Holbeach of Lincoln, and Ridley of Rochester, were the prelates assisting. Of the distinct parts supplied by each no evidence has descended to us; but by the care and direction principally of Cranmer the work was finished, passed in convocation, and confirmed, though not without opposition, in parliament. Burnet says that the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster, protested against it, although employed in the production of it. But the Bishop of Norwich was not one of the compilers. From the entire compilation, however, these prelates dissented, only because, with some few particulars of it, they were dissatisfied. Four other prelates, but not of the committee which composed the book, as a late historian has asserted, also voted against it. These were Bonner, Tunstal, Aldrich, and Heath, whose prejudices in favour of the old superstitions were now not to be removed. By others of their opinion the service, as might be expected, was much censured; by multitudes, however, on the other hand, it was received with approbation, joy, and thankfulness.

It has been sometimes said that the labour of our re-

formers, in this liturgical production, was but small. In answer to those who have thus unjustly depreciated it, Dr. Ridley has replied, that they who represent them as doing little, may observe ten material differences of the Reformed Common Prayer as it was now framed, and soon afterwards revised from the Romish. 1. The service in the language which the people know. 2. Scripture lessons instead of legends. 3. The Scriptures orderly read through, instead of a broken and interrupted course. 4. The Creed more properly disposed. 5. The Lord's Prayer, more agreeable to Christ's appointment, before reading and prayer. 6. Repeated aloud, instead of secretly. 7. The Ave Mary and commemoration of the Virgin omitted. 8. The monkish metrical hymns rejected. 9. As also prayers for the dead. 10. And addresses to saints, together with the superstitious consecrating and exorcising salt, water, bread, incense, candles, palma, leaves of flowers, grapes, fire, bells, images, altars, crosses, vessels, and garments.

Our service-book has been accordingly pronounced "a compilation of ancient forms, selected with prudence, corrected with judgment, and arranged with simplicity." The copy of the first impression of it, printed by Grafton in March 1548-9, Cranmer then presented to Edward. It was reprinted in the following June, if not also before that time. In these distinct copies some verbal variations or arrangements of the contents, which, however, are unimportant, have been found. Almost immediately after the publication of it, a proclamation was made for the mass to be put down throughout the whole realm; although in the contents of the book the words, "commonly called the mass," as yet had not been removed from the title of the Lord's Supper. But Cranmer had removed it, in his manuscript remarks, from the king's Injunctions. What Jewell afterwards eloquently observed to his Romish opponent, was now effected. "The mass of itself fell down, and fled away before the holy communion, even as the darkness before the light, and as the idol Dagon fell down at the presence of the ark of the God of Israel."

The new service-book was directed to come into general use on the Whitsunday of 1549. But by many of the

clergy, who had received it immediately after its publication, it began to be used at Easter ; and with the liveliest satisfaction congregations now attended to intelligible devotions in the vernacular language. In appearance nearly the whole clergy conformed to it. But some there were who waited only for an opportunity to express and to instigate resistance to it. Among these we shall presently find Bonner, who was reluctant to disperse the book, and to enjoin the use of it, throughout his diocese. He was watching the issue of the commotions that soon were raised in several parts of the kingdom. To the influence of refractory priests one of the greatest of these commotions is ascribed. After the first reading of this liturgy in the church of Sampford Courtney, in Devonshire, some of the parishioners insisted that on the following day the rector should use, as in former times, the Latin mass. To this apparent compulsion the parish-priest himself is supposed to have invited them. Discontented on the score of inclosures, insurgents were now showing themselves in other parts as well as the west of England. The insurrection of the men of Devonshire and Cornwall, however, which began under the pretence of throwing open the inclosures, was soon found to have been chiefly raised in maintenance of the old religion, and in especial hostility to the new liturgy. Their own proposals to the government exemplify this. Sanders himself admits it. In great numbers, under the command of a gentleman of Cornwall, and under the encouragement of Romish priests, they besieged, but were unable to take, the city of Exeter. The commotion might at first have been easily crushed. But the timidity and indecision of government served to increase it. Some of the proclamations by the Protector, in opposition to the council, as they regarded the inclosures, are believed to have encouraged the rebellion. If instead of furnishing the Lord Russell, who was sent against them, with proclamations, the government had supplied him with a force sufficient to awe a rude and misguided multitude, forty days and more would not have elapsed before an end was put to this rebellion. To convince the defeated insurgents of their errors, Cranmer now undertook to answer at

large the preposterous demands which they had vainly expected to be granted. This masterpiece of reasoning, as the work has rightly been called, while it exhibits consummate judgment, as well as a perfect knowledge of the manners of the lower people, exhibits also a large extent of learning. But its greatest recommendation is, that, "in a narrow compass, it contains most of the leading arguments, which have since been expanded, and variously diversified, by later divines; and may be considered as the very essence of Protestantism."

The commotions, which Cranmer thus endeavoured to appease, Bonner had artfully fomented. Released from his short confinement, after his concurring with Gardiner in opposition to the Homilies, he forbore not to impede the subsequent measures of the Reformers, and executed the orders of the council only in a manner which evinced his contempt of them. His aversion to circulate through his diocese the new Liturgy, and his neglect to enjoin the use of it, were well known. The resort to places, where mass might still be heard, he countenanced. To the rebels this episcopal disloyalty had been no small encouragement. Before the council he was accordingly summoned, and was enjoined to denounce, in a public discourse at St. Paul's Cross, the unlawfulness of taking arms on pretence of religion, and to assert the power of the sovereign during his minority. Instead of adhering to the subjects thus prescribed, he chose to defend the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to censure those who opposed it. Among his auditors were Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and William Latimer, a London divine. By them, with the concurrence of many others, informations were laid against him; and in consequence, a commission was issued under the great seal to Cranmer, Ridley, the two Secretaries of State, and the Dean of St. Paul's, to hear the accusations; and, if they could not be refuted, to suspend, imprison, or deprive him. Before the commissioners he appeared on seven separate days of examination; in each of which he conducted himself with insolence and levity, very unsuitable to the occasion, but in unison with the rude and brutal manners by which he was generally known. To the arch-

bishop, who had been his patron, deceived, indeed, as Cromwell had also been, by his professions of regard for the circulation of the Scriptures, he thus addressed himself at his first examination :—" What ! are you here, my lord ? By my troth, I saw you not."—" You would not see," the archbishop answered. " Well," replied Bonner, " you have now sent for me hither, what have you to say to me ?"—The commissioners then told him, " We call you to account for not preaching upon the subjects prescribed to you." This charge he affected not to notice ; but, turning to the archbishop, observed, " I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is." " What is that ?" said Cranmer.—" The blessed mass," Bonner answered ; " and as you have written well upon the sacrament, I marvel that you honour it not more." Cranmer replied, " If you think well of what I have written, it is because you understood it not."—" I understood it, I think, better than you who wrote it," rejoined the contemptuous prelate. This interruption was closed by the archbishop observing, " I could easily make a child of ten years old understand therein as much as you ; but what is this to the matter before us ?" The process no longer halted. Upon the witnesses who testified against him, and upon the bystanders who seemed to approve their evidence, Bonner now repeatedly bestowed the proverbial appellation of woodcocks, or the coarser term of fools. Against the authority of his judges he disputed, not without acuteness indeed, but also not without disgusting acrimony ; and he appealed from it to that of the king. By them, however, he was deprived ; and by the sovereign his repeal was rejected. After his deprivation, he was still considered too dangerous to be exempted from imprisonment during the pleasure of the king.

It was in the midst of these strifes and contentions, so opposed to Cranmer's natural mildness, that he thus writes to Philip Melancthon, a letter in which he breathes forth his inmost soul. We give a recent translation from the original Latin copy :—

" We are experiencing, most learned Melancthon, the truth of all that our Lord Jesus Christ has foretold re-

specting the trials of his Church. 'But God is faithful, who will not suffer his people to be tempted above that they are able, but will also with the temptation make a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it.' For though from his hatred to the Son of God the devil exercises a horrible tyranny over the members of Christ, yet God has promised that his Church shall never perish; nay, of these last times he expressly declares, 'To hoar hairs will I carry her: I will bear, I will deliver her.' And God has always willed some civil societies to be the refuge of his churches, and that their rulers should support the friends of heavenly doctrine; just as Obadiah befriended the hearers of Elias, whom the kings of Israel were persecuting on every side. Wherefore, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I give thee thanks for having rescued our island from the waves, like the ark of Noah, and for having granted us such rulers as seek thy glory, and who devote their houses and possessions to the Church and its service, as in old time the cottage of the widow of Sarepta afforded a home to Elias. And I pray God to direct us, and to gather unto himself a perpetual Church amongst us, not only out of our own countrymen, but also from among those of foreign nations, as according to his infinite mercy he has already begun to do. For many pious and learned men have come over to us, some from Italy, some from Germany, and we are daily expecting more; which society of the Church, if you will vouchsafe to increase and adorn with your presence, I know not by what means you will be able more effectually to set forth the glory of God.

"I am aware that you have often desired that wise and godly men should take counsel together, and, having compared their opinions, send forth under the sanction of their authority some work that should embrace the chief subjects of ecclesiastical doctrine, and transmit the truth uncorrupted to posterity. This object we are anxiously endeavouring to accomplish to the utmost of our power. We therefore request you to communicate your counsel and opinions with us in person, and not so to shut up your mind as to seem wanting even to your own wishes, or acting in opposition to so manifest a calling of God. I

could relate many things upon this subject, which would bring you over to our opinion ; but the brevity of a letter will not contain them all. I would rather, therefore, that you should learn them from the bearer, John à Lasco, a most excellent man. For he has resided with me upon the most intimate and friendly terms for some months past ; and I pray you to give credit to whatever he may relate to you in my name. May our Lord Jesus Christ, the guardian of his Church, who has said, ‘ None shall pluck my sheep out of my hands,’ preserve and defend the ministry of his Gospel, and bring you in safety to the harbour of our Church ! Farewell.

“ Most anxious for your arrival,

“ THOMAS CANTUAR.”*

London, Feb. 10, 1549.

We now arrive at a period of the Reformation which suggests many painful and difficult questions. The exposure of ecclesiastical frauds, and the overthrow of ecclesiastical domination, produced for a time, both in Germany and in England, a state of things often approaching to anarchy.

“ Men had beheld,” says Mr. Le Bas, “ churches dishonoured by the trampling of mules, the howling of dogs, and the firing of guns,—and the altars plundered with impunity of their furniture and their ornaments : and, with multitudes, the effect of such disgraceful spectacles was, a disposition to confound together things sacred and profane, and, eventually, to set at naught all laws, both human and divine. They had, moreover, been absolved from the necessity of confession ; and there was, consequently, no power on earth, before which profligacy could be compelled to blush. They had heard, too, that matrimony was no sacrament ; and thenceforth the ordinance lost all sanctity in their eyes, and the land was afflicted and disgraced by capricious divorce, and shameless adultery. The dissolution of religious houses had filled the country with swarms of indigent, seditious, and discon-

* From the Parker Society's edition of *Cranmer's Works*, p. 426.

tented wanderers ; and hence it was, that all respect for dignities was rapidly giving way. The sermons of Latimer are full of bitter outcries against the manifold excesses which were bringing ignominy upon the Reformation, and causing its adversaries to exult and to revile.

" But these were not the only mischiefs which had burst forth upon the country, in that season of confusion. When once the furnace was heated, it seemed as if its ashes had been cast abroad, to descend in fretting controversies, which broke out, as it were, in boil, and blain, and ulcer, throughout the land. It would be wearisome to enumerate all the varieties of this fiery plague. It was then that we began to be infested with the doctrine, that the elect could never sin,—that the regenerate could never fall away from godly love,—that the people of the Lord are invested, not merely with a certain title to their inheritance in heaven, but with the right of helping themselves to all that may supply their necessities on earth. Then, too, as we have already seen, the Anabaptists began to teach that governors and magistrates are mere invaders of Christian liberty ; and that penal statutes, or international laws, were never made for the children of God. Of nearly the same kindred was another class, who, even then, began to dream of a fifth monarchy on earth, destined to overthrow the sinful dynasties by which the saints were held in thralldom. Not long after these, there sprung up the fraternities of the Libertines, and the followers of David George, who pretended, at one time, that he was the Christ, and at another, that he was the Holy Ghost : all of them ' pestilent sects, tending to sedition and heresy, and to the distraction of the Church of Christ.' And then, also, it was, that the ears of men were assailed with irreverent disputations respecting the person and dignity of the Saviour, and the divinity of the Holy Spirit. By some it was maintained that Jesus Christ was but a human being ; and that the only benefit conferred by him was a more perfect knowledge of the true God. Others affirmed that he was not incarnate of the Virgin ; and, consequently, that it was improper to call him very man, because he took no substance from his mother."

How these evils were to be dealt with was a problem which few could solve. The idea which everywhere prevailed was, that "heresy was a crime to be punished by death." Few, if any, of the Reformers, were so much in advance of their time, as to perceive the futility, as well as sinfulness, of putting men to death for holding erroneous opinions. Luther seems to have arrived at just conclusions on this subject; but it would be difficult to name another of the leaders of the Reformation who had thrown off this Romish error. An enormous amount of odium is cast upon Calvin for having prosecuted Servetus, and thus procured his death. Yet Calvin only did what at least nineteen out of twenty of the best Christians of his time would have done. Who was more gentle or sensitive, or averse to violent measures, than Melancthon? Yet Melancthon, writing to Calvin on this very case of Servetus, says:—

"Reverend and dearest Brother, I have read your treatise, in which you have plainly refuted the horrid blasphemies of Servetus; and I render thanks to the Son of God, who was himself the arbiter of the contest. The Church owes you a debt of gratitude, and will continue to owe it, to the latest posterity. I entirely assent to your judgment. I also affirm that your magistrates have acted justly, inasmuch as they have put a blasphemer to death, after a solemn and judicial trial."

It was in April of this year, 1549, that a commission was appointed to proceed against those who might be suspected or accused of entertaining such pernicious doctrines. It must here be remembered, that the Reformers of England had been uniformly assailed by the Romanists, not only as deserters from the Catholic Church, but as the protectors of the whole swarming brood of heresy;—as men indifferent, not merely to the holy traditions of the Papacy, but to all the fundamental principles of the Gospel. These calumnies were disseminated with increased activity, about this period, in consequence of the readiness expressed by Bullinger and Calvin, and other distinguished foreign Protestants, to adopt the discipline of the Anglican

Church, and to make King Edward the protector of the Protestant cause ;—a union which was vehemently deprecated by the Romanists, and which they were extremely anxious to retard, and, if possible, to defeat. It was, probably, their impatience to vindicate themselves from these imputations of impiety, that drove the English government to measures of extreme severity against the manifold perversions above adverted to. The commissioners entrusted with this painful duty were, the archbishop, six other prelates, several divines of inferior rank, and certain distinguished laymen, among whom were Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley) and Sir Thomas Smith.

Among the persons summoned before this tribunal was a woman by the name of Bocher, better known by the title of Joan of Kent. She was convicted of heretical opinions respecting the incarnation of the Saviour ; and Cranmer was under the necessity of pronouncing her excommunication. A certificate of her conviction was then presented to the crown ; and, as usual, she was delivered over to the secular arm. It would seem, however, that the government was unwilling to proceed to extremities, while there was any hope of reclaiming her from error : for she was detained a twelvemonth in custody, during which interval she was visited by the primate, and by Ridley, then bishop of London. But argument and persuasion were wholly ineffectual : she adhered inflexibly to her wild imaginations. The council, seeing no hope of her conversion, at last sent her to the stake ; and, on the 2nd of May, 1550, she perished in the flames. The following year was disgraced by a similar process against a Dutchman, named George Van Parre, for questioning the divinity of Christ ; and among the judges on that process also, we find the names of Cranmer and of Ridley. The man was condemned to the fire ; and he died heroically, kissing the fagots that were to consume him.

A great amount of virtuous indignation has been vented against Cranmer, on the ground of a story told by Foxe, that the young king for a long time refused to sign Joan Bocher's death-warrant, and could only be induced to do so, at last, by Cranmer's entreaties. Similar fictions

have been circulated, in various ages and on various occasions, of death-warrants, and royal signatures. These stories evidently grow out of a natural fondness for the romantic. The propagators of these fictions seem never to ask themselves, "Do kings, then, sign the warrants for the execution of malefactors?" If this question were seriously asked, the answer would be in the negative, and then the fable would vanish.

The editor of one of the Parker Society volumes, *The Works of Roger Hutchinson*, has recently done good service, by searching closely into this story of Joan Bocher; and the following is his report:—

"It was the opinion of this unfortunate woman, that our blessed Saviour did not take his body from the Virgin Mary; but passed through her as light through glass. For holding that opinion she was summoned before the primate and certain other commissioners appointed to inquire concerning heresies, and by them was committed to prison, where she was kept more than twelve months, 'in hope of conversion.' She was visited by Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Goodrich, and others, and all these eminent men made strenuous but ineffectual endeavours to bring her to a more accurate belief.

"And here it is allowable to remark, how much undeserved odium has been thrown upon Archbishop Cranmer in connexion with this case, in consequence of an erroneous statement of Foxe the martyrologist, alleging the importunity with which he urged, if not forced, the young king into the signature of the death-warrant upon which she suffered."

The editor then goes on to remark, that all the other writers of the time, Romish as well as Protestant, are silent as to this supposed fact, which Foxe alone reports.

That the king's own journal notes the fact of Joan's execution, and speaks of the Bishops of London and Ely in connexion with it, but in no way refers to Cranmer.

That the warrant was issued, not by the king, but by the council of regency, governing in his name, and is entered in the council-book, thus:—

"A warrant to the L. Chauncellor to make out a writt to the Shireff of London for the execucon of Johan of Kent, condempned to be burned for certain detestable opinions of heresie."

And, lastly, that the persons present on the day referred to, April 27, 1550, were,

"The Lord Chauncellor, the L. High Treasurer, the L. P. Seale, the L. Great Chamberlaine, the Lord Chamberlaine, the L. Pagett, the Bisshopp of Ely, Mr. Threasurer, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. of the Horse, Mr. Vice-Chamberlaine, Sir Rauf Sadler, Sir Edward North."

Cranmer, then, was not present when the writ for Joan's execution was ordered. And there is no reason to doubt that the whole story, which describes this execution as determined upon by the young king, at the persuasion of the archbishop, is a mere romance. Neither the one nor the other had any such intimate and active share in the last act of this poor creature's trial and punishment as is commonly supposed. Both, doubtless, shared in the common belief, that such offences *must* be punished by death; but it was equally abhorrent to the natures of Edward and of Cranmer to take a forward part in such horrid transactions.

IX.

NEW FORM OF ORDINATION—PETER MARTYR, BUCER
AND FAGIUS—PROPOSED UNION OF THE PROTESTANT
CHURCHES—CONTROVERSY AS TO HABITS.

A.D. 1549—1551.

NEW forms of worship being now prepared, it became obviously expedient to remove out of sight the old ones. A letter was issued by the king and council in 1549, which ran thus:—

“We, therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy council, not only considering the said book to be our act, and the act of the whole of our realm assembled together in parliament, but also the same be grounded upon the Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive Church, and much to the re-edifying of our subjects; to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, again in the Latin tongue, which were but a preferment of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again; have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require, and nevertheless straitly do command and charge you, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church, and the parson, vicar, or curate, and churchwardens of every parish within your diocese, to bring and deliver unto you, or your deputy, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all antiphonals, missals, grails, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portasses, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York,

or any other private use ; and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a let to the using of the said Book of Common Prayer ; and that you take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order, which by a common consent is now set forth. And if you shall find any person stubborn, or disobedient, in not bringing in the said books according to the tenor of these our letters, that then ye commit the said person to ward, until such time as you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you also search, or cause search to be made, from time to time, whether any book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters ; and the same book to receive into your hands, and to use all such as in these our letters we have appointed. And further, whereas it is come unto our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to the order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday ; these are to will and command you to convene such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the said book ; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the Church."

The next work was, to compose and publish new forms for the ordination of priests and deacons, and consecration of bishops. An Act committed this task to six prelates and divines ; Cranmer, doubtless, being the presiding mind among them. The Ordinal produced by them was subjoined to the second liturgy of Edward VI. Its authors concluded that the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, were those only which are of apostolical institution ; and that by the episcopal authority all the three orders are conferred, thus conforming to the practice of the ancient Church, which never accounted an ordination valid that was performed by persons beneath the episcopal character.

They distinguished also the two higher orders of bishops and priests, and while they pronounced the forms of ordination, as mentioned in Scripture, to be only the imposition of hands and prayer, they directed that two bishops should expressly declare, that the person presented is to be consecrated to their own order ; and to him are accordingly applied more questions by the archbishop than are mentioned in the office for ordaining priests, implying the superior authority of one who was to exercise discipline and to govern a diocese. They rejected the inferior orders of acolyths, sub-deacons, and readers, which had been the provision of modern ages, and were still retained in the Church of Rome, and they discontinued some unmeaning ceremonies.

About this time, also, appeared the archbishop's tract, *On Unwritten Verities*, and also, translated either by him or under his eye, Bertram's tract *On Transubstantiation*.

Lambeth had now become the home of various distinguished foreigners, some of whom had been invited by Cranmer from veneration of their talents and learning ; others kindly welcomed as "persecuted for Christ's sake." Of these guests the earliest appear to have been the celebrated Peter Martyr and Bernardine Ochín, both Italians, highly distinguished at Naples, where the former, with the dignity of an abbot, had been also provost of a college, and the latter the chief director of the friars denominated Capuchins. The religious sentiments of both in favour of the Reformed religion, had been expressed with great effect ; and "by the blessing of God on the labours of these individuals, a Reformed Church was established at Naples, which included persons of the first rank, both male and female." Martyr afterwards was distinguished by his zeal at Lucca, as Ochín was by his preaching at Venice. Of the former it has been said, that he "excelled as much in judgment and learning as the latter did in popular eloquence." But soon their efforts were opposed, the papal influence threatened their labours and even their lives ; they fled from their native country, took shelter first in Switzerland and then at Strasbourg, where the letters of invitation from Cranmer found them.

An account of expenses attending their journey to England has been preserved, which, while it shows their arrival to have been rather later than our historians represent it, affords much curious information both on the manners of the time, and in regard to provisions for the learned travellers. The charges of their guide commence at Basle, on the 4th of November, continuing "until the 20th of December, that they came to London," and amount to one hundred and twenty-six pounds, of which a very large proportion is for books, especially for Ochin, the bill for which was delivered to Cranmer, who had probably given directions for these accompaniments; while those for Peter Martyr were only "the works of St. Augustine, Cyprian, and Epiphanius." The visit of these eminent divines is supposed to have been approved, and the charges of their journey to have been defrayed, by the government.

For Ochin, who was to exercise his eloquent preaching in London, Cranmer almost immediately obtained from the crown a prebend of Canterbury; and for Martyr, whose knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was to stand the test of academical approbation, the professorship of Divinity at Oxford. The appointment of the latter was greatly resented by the party who maintained in that University the doctrine of transubstantiation, whose belief in it the new professor, therefore, endeavoured to shake by his primary lectures upon that part of the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians which refers to the Lord's Supper. Sanders, the Romish historian, pretends, that Martyr now hesitated between the doctrine of Luther and that of Zuinglius, between consubstantiation and a denial of the corporal presence, as if he waited for instructions from the archbishop and the government which to advocate. But Martyr, before his arrival in England, had abandoned the tenet of the corporal presence; and before that arrival, Cranmer, with whom we may be sure the protector concurred, had also abandoned it. Heylin relates, not accurately, upon the authority of Sanders, that the professor at this time declared himself so much a Zuinglian as to have given great offence to Cranmer and other prelates; and

yet Cranmer and Ridley at least, if not others of their mitred brethren, had now espoused the doctrine of Zuñglius. But the professor is defended upon this very point by the archbishop himself. "Of M. Peter Martyr's opinion and judgment in this matter," Cranmer says, "no man can better testify than I; forasmuch as he lodged within my house long before he came to Oxford, and I had with him many conferences in that matter, and know that he was then of the same mind that he is now, and as he defended after openly in Oxford, and hath written in his book." By the Romanists at Oxford he was challenged to a public disputation. He accepted it, with the approbation of the privy council, by whom, in 1549, delegates of rank and learning were appointed to attend it; and he maintained, 1. That in the sacrament of the Eucharist there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; 2. That the body and blood of Christ are not corporally or carnally in or under the species of bread and wine; 3. That the body and blood of Christ are united to the bread and wine sacramentally. Four days the disputation continued, the professor contending against three opponents, the Drs. Tresham and Chedsey, and Mr. Morgan Phillips, usually called Morgan the Sophister. Dr. Cox, dean of Christ Church, as moderator, at the close of the business, addressed the several disputants, not without a compliment to the skill of each, but with one more especially gratifying to Martyr, "for the numberless testimonies produced by him in behalf of the truth. Such as he is, he must obtain favour and respect from us and from all good men; first, because he has taken such pains in sustaining even a burden of disputations; for if not Hercules himself could withstand two, what shall we think of Martyr against all? Secondly, because he accepted the challenge, and thus stopped the mouths of vain men, who dispersed envious and odious accusations against him, as one who was either afraid or unwilling to maintain his own cause; and lastly, that he has so fully answered the expectation of the chief magistrates, and so of the king himself; while he has not only recommended to the University the doctrine of Christ from the living fountains of the word of God, but has not

permitted others to obscure or obstruct them." By Dr. Chedsey and the Romish party, Martyr was traduced as if he had been vanquished. To confute their slanders he afterwards published the whole disputation, and his fidelity was attested by the subscription to it of the royal delegates who presided at the disputation. Meantime he sent to Cranmer by "Julius, his constant companion and friend," as Strype calls him, an account of the disputation; and to Bucer, who was then at Lambeth Palace, an explanation of such passages in it as he thought might not accord with that Reformer's judgment, whose sentiments on the corporal presence seemed not so far removed from the Church of Rome, at that time, as his own.

Bucer had been invited by the archbishop to England in October 1548, and again in the March following. He came accompanied with Paul Fagius, another German, both eminently qualified to propagate the doctrines of the Reformation. In the Eastern languages Fagius was profoundly skilled, as Bucer was in the Greek. To instruct the students at Cambridge they were therefore designed; Fagius being directed to expound the Old Testament, Bucer the New. To the latter was granted the same honourable distinction in the University as at Oxford Martyr enjoyed; his appointment to which by the king, at the recommendation of Cranmer, was thus announced to the vice-chancellor and proctors of the University:—

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; letting you to wit, that forasmuch as we be credibly informed of your good conformity to all such order as we, by our late visitors, directed unto you, and of your industry and diligent study which you daily take to attain to all kinds of good learning; and specially hearing of your good zeal and affection to God's most holy word, not only to understand the tongues wherein the same was written, whereby you may come to the true and sincere sense and meaning of the same, but also in your livings to conform yourselves thereunto, and as it were to transform yourselves into the manner and shape of God's word, that you may be lights to shine to our whole realm; we cannot but much rejoice to have this good report of you, knowing that our two

Universities being the wells and fountains of religion within our realm, whatsoever pure godliness is among you, the same must needs flow into the rest of our realms ; and to the intent that your godly endeavours and studies may have the more success, and for the love that we bear to this our University, we having at this present within our realm Martin Bucer, a man of profound learning and of godly life and conversation, have thought good, by the advice of our trusty and well-beloved councillors, to bestow him upon you to read the lecture of Holy Scripture, which Dr. Madewe lately read, to the great comfort and condition of all such as be godly and quietly bent to the pure understanding of Holy Scripture. Wherefore, we pray you and require you, and nevertheless command you, so to entertain and use him with all gentleness and humanity, that he be at no time discouraged in his godly doings, but rather comforted and encouraged to persevere in the same, as ye tender our pleasure and your own commodity. Given at our palace at Westminster, the iiii. of December, in the third year of our reign."

To the professorship of the Hebrew tongue Fagius was at the same time appointed. For him, as for Bucer, Cranmer procured from the king, in addition to the academical advantages of their offices, the honorary annual stipend of one hundred pounds. To Ochin, and to Martyr, and to other learned foreigners, the royal munificence, through the same interposition, was also extended. "I heard say, Master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither," honest Latimer observed in a sermon before Edward ; "I would wish him, and such as he is, to have two hundred pounds a-year ; the king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There are yet among us two great learned men, Peter Martyr and Bernard Ochin, which have a hundred marks a-piece ; I would the king would bestow a thousand pounds on that sort." Melancthon, however, never visited England.

The subject of the lectures to be delivered by Fagius and Bucer, which Cranmer himself dictated, was with a view to the production of as pure and genuine a translation

of the Scriptures as was possible. They were by him required to give a clear and succinct interpretation of the sacred text, according to the propriety of the language ; to explain difficult and obscure passages ; and to reconcile those that seemed to differ from each other. Fagius had begun to illustrate the prophecies of Isaiah, and Bucer the Gospel of St. John, while yet resident in Lambeth Palace, when sickness attacked them both. The former still anxiously desired to commence his lectures in the University, which he reached only there to die. Ere fifteen months had rolled away, the latter also, at the same place, breathed his last. Of the skill of Fagius in Hebrew and rabbinical learning, the world had received abundant proofs, although, in England, disease suppressed the intended exercise of his great abilities. The little time that was left to Bucer was so employed as to obtain, at Cambridge, all the attention he could desire, and the highest honours she could bestow.

On the death of Fagius, Cranmer wrote to their mutual friend, Bucer, the following sympathising letter :—

“ Most learned Bucer, it is not now my intention to tell you how deep a wound of sorrow has been caused to my feelings by the death of our friend Fagius, lest I should seem to irritate your wound, which, as I suppose, has been healed by the aid of your theology, as well as also in some sense by the lapse of time. But rather for the present I have determined to communicate to you the thoughts by which I myself gained consolation ; not that, prudent as you are, you stand in need of consolations which I can give (for I know the moderation and reasonableness of your mind), but that by frequent repetition and consideration in my own mind I might by some means shake off this grief. In the first place, my thoughts took this turn, that it was in accordance with our nature to sympathise, condole, and weep with our friend, while he was for so long a time very grievously suffering from that painful disease : but now after that he has been freed from all sufferings, and has been translated from warfare to peace, from troublous waves to a haven the most still, from toils to endless

felicity, it would be the act of an enemy, not of a friend, to bewail his state. 'For the souls of the righteous are in the Lord's hand.' And the Psalmist saith: 'Right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' Since, therefore, our friend worshipped God with true piety, and gave his attention and labour to the extension of the study of learning, there is no reason why we should not hope that, by the mercy of the Judge, he hath obtained that eternal life which he here commenced with such diligence. I could indeed wish, if so it had pleased God, that he might have sojourned with us for a longer period in the course of this life; but since it hath seemed good to our most merciful Father to call him away to a better and more learned school, we ought to congratulate him that Paul Fagius hath been summoned to the company of Christ and St. Paul, and to the most holy college of angels, prophets, and apostles.

"By these and other means I uplift my prostrate mind, and produce better hopes and thoughts. By my letter I put you in mind of these, not because they are needful for you, but rather that by these and similar consolations you may soften and assuage the grief of that excellent woman, the wife of our friend Fagius. And I earnestly beg and entreat of you to exhort her not to give up herself to sorrow.

"A certain poet hath written,

'With sincerity of grief the loss of money is lamented;'

and therefore that in this respect I may in some way recover her, by this messenger I send to her twenty-seven pounds of our money; which sum, although as yet I have not received it from the king's treasurer for Fagius' salary, yet I expect soon to receive it. Meanwhile, that in some way I might alleviate the widow's grief, I think it better to pay this money from my own resources. There was, indeed, due to her husband for salary fifty pounds, but three are to be deducted from the total amount, for expenses on royal diploma, &c., and twenty I have paid. That you have not up to this time received letters recommendatory from the king's majesty to the University of Cambridge,

and your salary for the present, you must not impute to negligence on my part, but to the occupation of the members of council, and generally all the officers, who are so distracted by public business in the sitting of parliament, that they have no leisure to treat of private matters. Meanwhile, if you are in want of anything, I beg you to declare it, and with all diligence I will take care that it be sent to you. Farewell. Lambeth, the last day of November. [1549.]

"Your reverence's most affectionate,

"T. CANTUAR."*

Upon the Eucharistic question, Cranmer had already obtained the judgment of Peter Martyr. An opinion of Bucer he has also given us. Gardiner had greatly misrepresented that Reformer. Cranmer thus replied to him:—"Bucer varieth much from your error; for he denieth utterly that Christ is really and substantially present in the bread, either by conversion or inclusion, but in the ministration he affirmeth Christ to be present—and so do I also, but not to be eaten and drunken of them that be wicked, and members of the devil, whom Christ neither feedeth, nor hath any communion with them. And, to conclude in few words the doctrine of M. Bucer in the place by you alleged, he dissenteth in nothing from Œcolampadius and Zuinglius." To Cranmer, therefore, Bucer appears to have expressed himself on this grand tenet without reserve. To others he spoke or wrote with less simplicity, but with a view to conciliate, in the sacramental controversy, as his manner was in other religious disputes, the opposers and maintainers of it. Melancthon alluded to this kind of concession without adopting it; for it was his constant maxim, that "ambiguous terms only generate new controversies:" and a friend of Melancthon, to whom the Reformed Church of Italy was much indebted, Celio Secundo Curio, in his humorous strictures upon the errors of the Church of Rome, notices the concession of Bucer, in order to deny so seeming a dereliction of the Protestant cause.

* *Cranmer's Works*, Parker Society, p. 428.

Bucer and Fagius had been accompanied to England by Matthew Regelius, afterwards a minister at Strasbourg, who was also received under Cranmer's hospitable roof, now open, indeed, to the Reformers of various countries.

There, also, from Artois, was Peter Alexander, whom the archbishop employed as his secretary; who had been inclined to the tenet of consubstantiation, but had relinquished it, as Martyr informed Calvin, to whom, having agreed upon this point with Zuinglius, the notice would give pleasure. Like Bucer and Fagius, this learned secretary appears to have written at Lambeth expositions of Scripture.

There had now been, also, in the palace, Justus Jonas the younger, and his three companions, from Germany, whose arrival has already been noticed. The recommendation of Melancthon had introduced them. Young as Justus Jonas was, Strype calls him a "great divine." Cranmer appears to have placed entire confidence in him, and to have consulted him on important points. He imparted to him, first, his wish for the union of all Protestant Churches, and then desired him to communicate it to Melancthon, with a request for his judgment upon it, which presently will be before us. Eusebius Menius, another of these visitors, was the son of Justus Menius, an eminent preacher at Saxe-Gotha. He was described as worthy the notice of the archbishop, not only as the son of one who had deserved well of the Reformed Church, but as a man of distinguished learning, especially in that branch of it which might render him acceptable to the University of Cambridge,—mathematics. He had good preferment in Germany, Melancthon further said of him; but he could not endure to behold the calamities of his country, and, therefore, sought in a foreign land a maintenance. The next of these foreigners was Francis Dryander, whose real name was Enzinas, a Spaniard of noble birth, who had visited Germany, and been long acquainted with Melancthon. Of him the great Reformer reported to Cranmer, that he had found him endowed with excellent abilities; that his theological opinions, like his conduct, were correct; and that he was worthy to be preferred in either of our

Universities. Strype supposes that he was sent to Oxford, and continued there till the reign of Mary; but by the great historian of that University his name is unnoticed. Peter Martyr, however, appears to have invited him thither. The third companion of Justus Jonas was Rodolph Gualter, of Zurich, a relation of Zuinglius, and afterwards the successor of Bullinger in the pastorate of his native place.

A more distinguished guest at this time was John à Lasco, a nobleman of Poland, the nephew of an archbishop of that name. The present friend of Cranmer has been described by some, inaccurately, as having at first been a Roman Catholic prelate. To that communion, indeed, he belonged, when, more than twenty years before, he lived and boarded with Erasmus, by whose conversation and writings he was led into the Reformed system, though Erasmus himself did not go so far. In his heart Erasmus certainly approved the Reformation, but dared not openly profess himself a Reformer; a character, notwithstanding which his works, however guarded, often confer upon him, and justify the zeal with which Cranmer studied them; as they excited, also, the concurrence of Gardiner in the well-known sarcasm, "Erasmus laid the eggs, and Luther hatched them." John à Lasco had now embraced the Reformation, had forsaken his country, and had become preacher to a Protestant congregation at Embden. His present visit was with a view to establish this congregation in London, which, afterwards, Cranmer was instrumental in effecting. The dissolved convent of the Augustine friars, and some political privileges, were granted them. Into our country were thus introduced many useful hands for arts and manufactures, which she lost when the ministry of the noble Pole was suppressed at the accession of Mary, and himself, with most of the foreign Protestants, driven from the kingdom. Eminent alike for piety and learning, he had been appointed superintendent over other congregations, also, of the Reformed in London, Italian and French. Possessed of sufficient means, he was ever ready to assist such of them as asked his aid. In the controversies of our own Church, he interfered injudiciously, as some have contended; and his long address to Cranmer, in which he

objects to the clerical habits, and kneeling at the reception of the sacrament, certainly bespeaks a violent but mistaken opinion of the subjects. To his foreign friends he repeatedly mentions his obligations to Cranmer. He was at Embden when the news of Cranmer's conviction arrived, which he communicated to a correspondent, accompanied with information attending it, not recorded by any of the archbishop's biographers; that, after his conviction, Cranmer was publicly led through London; that the grief of the spectators was general; that he was unshaken, and even cheerful; that he prayed there might be no tumults; and that eight days only were to elapse before he should suffer;—which, perhaps, was at first the intention of Mary and her council.

To the patronage of Cranmer, in great measure, may be also ascribed the establishment of another "church of strangers," consisting chiefly of French and Walloons, at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire. Of these, Valeran Pullan, who had been a preacher at Strasbourg, was the superintendent; and Strype believes him to have been one of the foreign divines entertained at Lambeth by the archbishop. Their petition, which was granted, was, that they might be permitted to form themselves into a church for the free exercise of religion, and to follow peaceably their trade of weaving, which would be advantageous to the realm; in order to which, they asked for the tenements of some dissolved monastery, and the venerable abbey of Glastonbury was thus converted into a manufactory. At Canterbury, Norwich, and other places in the kingdom, French and Walloon congregations were soon afterwards formed. These refugees were commanded to leave the realm at the accession of Mary. Most of them repaired to Frankfort, whither the exiles from our own country in that persecuting reign soon afterwards fled, and there experienced a return of the kindness and liberality that had been shown in England, by being allowed to preach their own doctrines, and to practise their own discipline.

There was another learned divine who was welcomed at Lambeth, of whom no notice has been taken by Burnet, Strype, or any English writer who has treated of the Reformation—Simon Alexius, a Frenchman. Gerdes of Groningen,

whose abundant collections so powerfully illustrate the history of the Reformation, both in our own and other countries, has given an account of a work left by him in manuscript, which he had written at the command of Cranmer, while living under his roof, in defence of the true doctrine of the Sacrament, and in refutation of the Romish mass. It consists of seven dialogues, to which the editor, Crispin of Arras, a printer at Geneva, affixed a title, and published them there, after the death of the author, in 1557. The title contains a reflection on the revival, in England, of the mass in the reign of Mary, and the preface relates how greatly the subject of the work had interested Cranmer, and how fit he thought Alexius to discuss it. The dialogues display much spirit as well as sound argument.

Emanuel Tremellio, of Italy, now also partook of the archiepiscopal hospitality, and has left a grateful character of it, in which he alludes to Cranmer's general acquaintance with languages. The travels as well as the studies of the archbishop had rendered the German, Italian, and French, as familiar to him as the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Tremellio was the son of a Jew, born at Ferrara, and eminent not only as an Oriental but as a general scholar. At first a convert to Christianity in the palace of Cardinal Pole, at Viterbo, he afterwards embraced the opinions of the Reformers, and became an assistant to Peter Martyr, at Lucca, in promoting the study of sacred literature, giving instructions in Hebrew. To England he followed his great countryman, and at length was appointed, through the recommendation of Cranmer, to supply the loss at Cambridge of the Hebrew professor Fagius. In his lectures there, another stranger, Ralph Cavalier, a Frenchman, was his coadjutor, and for his services was rewarded with a prebend in Cranmer's cathedral, as Tremellio himself was with the same distinction in the church of Carlisle. The labours of this learned Italian appear to have obtained the hearty approbation of the University. To biblical scholars his Latin translation of the Scriptures is familiar, but his valuable Hebrew Catechism is little known.

Martyr, and Ochin, and Tremellio, would probably often converse with Cranmer upon the spread of the Reformed

opinions in their own country, and upon the measures adopted to suppress them. The two former would not fail to mention with gratitude him who had encouraged their labours at Naples, and in many particulars embraced their tenets—the celebrated Marc Antonio Flaminio, whose amiable character must have been well known to Cranmer; and the circumstance of whose residence with Cardinal Pole in the latter part of his life, till he died in 1550, would excite additional attention to the remembrance of him. For it might now be rumoured in England, (as it had been abroad,) by the Roman Catholics, that the cardinal had brought him to an acknowledgment of his pretended heresy, although his writings prove him a sound adherent to almost every Protestant position. To the poetical studies also of Flaminio, for his name was no less dear to the Muses than to virtue, Cranmer and his guests might advert; to his metrical paraphrases of the Psalms, or to his other elegant poems. Nor would the Italian Reformers now forget another poet of their country, as he had sharply lashed the corruptions of the Church of Rome, the sublime, but extravagant Dante; and to Chaucer, the venerable bard of England, who soon after Dante spared not those corruptions. Cranmer might thence be led to refer, and to tell that while the bard studied at Oxford, he was said to be a pupil of Wicliffe. Wicliffe they would acknowledge as the father of the Reformation, being the first in Europe who had rendered accessible to all his countrymen, by a translation of them into the vulgar tongue, the Old and New Testaments. Nor might his memory as a translator of the Scriptures alone command their attention. His opinion respecting the Eucharist might not be overpassed. It was that adopted by Zuinglius, and by Ecolampadius, to both of whom, in the sacramental doctrine, Luther and his followers were vehemently opposed. Gardiner, in his controversy with Cranmer, thus arranged the opponents to the doctrine of the corporal presence: “First was Bertram, then Berengarius, then Wicliffe; and in our time Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, and Joachim Vadianus.”

With Ochín also, as with Dryander, the discourse of Cranmer might now have often turned on the great point

of justification by faith in Christ ; that being the favourite subject of the former, and to the latter had been the cause of an extended imprisonment : and to both the archbishop might urge, what our homilies and liturgy abundantly teach, the necessity of something more, in order to justification, "than a bare persuasion of faith." Dryander had published, in 1543, a Spanish version of the New Testament, which he dedicated to the emperor Charles, but which saved him not from being cast into prison by the Inquisition ; and the printer of it at Antwerp having distinguished the twenty-eighth verse of the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans in capital letters, "Man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law," the distinction, though not directed by the translator, afforded pretence to his enemies for a longer bereavement of his liberty.

Martyr having arrived in England at the time when our liturgy was first in preparation, and Bucer when it was first published, Latin versions of it were submitted to their judgment. Always at Lambeth when not engaged in their professorial duties at Oxford and Cambridge, they would then confer with Cranmer upon subjects connected with the formulary, and upon the revision of it that was meditated. The successful attacks of the former, as of Ochin also, in their own country, upon the tenet of purgatory, Cranmer too would notice, not without hearty congratulation. Against this fundamental doctrine of popery himself had argued before his sovereign, soon after his advancement to the primacy. The notions of Ochin, however, respecting predestination, were not those of the archbishop, who yet hindered not the publication of them, consonant although they were with those of Calvin, in our own language. The best way to arrive at truth, Cranmer considered to be in hearing what men of acknowledged piety and learning might advance upon doctrines now generally taught, although strange inferences were drawn from them. The character of Ochin was then unexceptionable, and so continued while he was in England : long afterwards he appeared, in his dialogues, an advocate of polygamy as well as an anti-trinitarian, and closed his days with the loss of that esteem which his former labours

had won. Not such was the end of his fellow-traveller to this country, the modest and the eminently learned Peter Martyr, who spent his last years, beloved and respected, at Zurich ; and left behind him a name of exalted and unblemished character, both in the annals of the Reformed Church, and of literature. Gardiner, indeed, who had listened to his brethren of the Romish party at Oxford, affected to question his learning, because of his disputation there on the sacrament. Cranmer thus vindicated him : " Concerning him that told you," he replied to Gardiner, " that Peter Martyr was not learned, I would wish you to leave (this old-rooted fault in you) to be light of credit. For I suppose, that if his learning that told you that lie, and yours also, were set both together, you should be far behind M. Peter Martyr. Marry, in words I think that you alone would overlay two Peter Martyrs, he is so sober a man, and delighteth not in wasting words in vain. And none do say, that he is not learned, but such as know him not, or be not learned themselves, or else be so malicious or envious, that they wittingly speak against their own conscience. And, no doubt, that man bringeth himself out of the estimation of a learned man, who hath heard him reason and read, and saith that he is not learned. And, whosoever mis-reporteth him, and hath never heard him, may not be called so well Momus, as Sycophanta, whose property is to misreport them whom they neither see nor know."

It has been generally stated, that, when Bucer died, Melancthon was immediately intended by Cranmer for the chair of divinity at Cambridge. Certainly Melancthon was then, as he had been before, invited hither. But the archbishop also appears to have consulted, at this time, with John à Lasco, upon introducing into England other continental divines of the Reformed Church ; and that the noble Pole accordingly recommended men who have been highly celebrated for their illustrious talents ; Sebastian Castalio, whose extensive learning and elegant taste, whose opposition also to the predestinarian dogma of Calvin, as well as his Latin version of the Bible, are well known ; Wolfgang Musculus, who had been the de-

ceased professor's friend, an excellent commentator on the Scriptures, and a translator of several works of the Greek fathers; and Theodore Bibliander, distinguished not only by his expositions of the sacred volume, but by his version of the Koran, with discourses in refutation of it. To these Cranmer himself subjoined the name of Brentius, an eminent theologian of Germany, to whom à Lasco objected, as differing from the archbishop and himself on the doctrine of the Eucharist; alluding perhaps to the sacramental controversy that now was revived with acrimony, in which Brentius sided with the followers of Luther. To the three former, however, invitations were sent by à Lasco; but they were not accepted. Castalio was a second time invited; and with him the ingenious and learned Italian, Celio Secundo Curio. The cost of their journey hither was offered to be defrayed, and preferment was promised to follow their arrival; but they came not.

Alexander Aless, of Scotland, has been represented as now among Cranmer's guests. But, though patronized by the archbishop many years before, and then distinguished so highly by his learning as to obtain the title of the king's scholar, he had long since returned to Germany, and been appointed a professor in the University of Leipsic. He had now translated our first service-book into Latin, of which Bucer made use in the intended review of that book, as Peter Martyr did of another translation by Sir John Cheke. Other services of Aless as a reformer are recorded. In 1535 he read lectures on divinity at Cambridge, but, being there opposed by the Roman Catholic party, returned to London, studied medicine, and then repaired again to Germany, whither he had fled before from persecution in his own country. He had published in 1533 a letter against the decree of those bishops in Scotland who prohibited the use of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue; and afterwards a treatise "Of the Authority of the word of God; against the Bishop of London, (Stokesley,) wherein are contained certain Disputations had in the Parliament-house between the Bishops, about the number of the Sacraments, and other things very necessary to be

known." His skill in composition must have been of very high character, if, as Strype represents it, "Melancthon made use of him in composing his thoughts into a handsome style, as did another great light of the same nation, I mean Bucer." Yet this statement must be received with great allowance; resting on no sufficient proof.

The communications between Cranmer and the foreign Protestant Churches had now become so constant and numerous as to need the attention of a special agent, or secretary, who was settled at Canterbury to receive and forward the foreign correspondence. Plans for a general union of the Protestant Churches had been suggested. The foreign Reformers had beheld with great satisfaction the opening of Edward's reign, and are said to have soon afterwards addressed him upon the projected alliance, offering to place him at the head of it, and to adopt our form of episcopal government. Calvin, Bullinger, and others, are stated as the framers of this plan, and to have thus excited the fears of the Romish hierarchy, that the success of it would lead to her fall. Melancthon had long before repeatedly expressed the wish that an authoritative standard of doctrine and discipline might be established by a general congress of reformed divines. Such was also the union that Cranmer, from 1548 to 1550, in vain laboured to effect. To Melancthon he first frankly stated his belief, that the wide differences among Protestants in regard to the sacraments, the divine decrees, and ecclesiastical government, were to their enemies the cause of censure, and to their friends of sorrow. He therefore trusted that a friendly debate, by learned theologians of the several churches, upon the points of controversy, might lead to the desired coalition. To Calvin and to Bullinger he afterwards applied with similar earnestness, proposing England as a place where the consultations might be held with greatest safety.

Melancthon answered, "If my judgment and opinion were required on such an occasion, I should be willing to hear both the sense of other learned men, and to speak my own, giving my reasons, persuading and being persuaded, as it ought to be in a conference of good men; allowing truth, and the glory of God, and the safety of the Church, not

greatest part of a sermon which, in 1549, Cranmer had preached at court, pronounced it "a very plain, impartial discourse, without any show of learning or conceits of wit. He severely expostulates in the name of God with his hearers, for their ill lives, their blasphemies, adulteries, mutual hatred, oppression, and contempt of the Gospel; and complains of the slackness of government in punishing these sins, by which it became, in some sort, guilty of them."

The wish of Cranmer for a general union among the Protestant Churches had been communicated, there can be no doubt, to all the foreign Reformers who visited him. Than Bucer, in particular, these Churches possessed no friend more strenuous for their concord. The subject, indeed, had often employed his pen. But with whatever persons the archbishop consulted upon the point he had so much at heart, the perplexities of the times occasioned the intention to be abandoned soon after it had been imparted. The resolution, however, of assembling the divines of his own Church, and of preparing with them a national confession of faith, was the consequence of this disappointment. Again he, therefore, wrote to Calvin, who replied, that since the times were adverse to the accomplishment of his more extensive design, that which respected only his own country was judicious, and, when completed, might preserve the minds of the people from wavering in religion; that such employment, indeed, was worthy of him, the eyes of good men being fixed upon his example, either to follow his exertions, or to remain idle on the plea of his inactivity. But before the book of Articles, now designed by Cranmer for preserving the peace and unity of our own Church, was completed, there was a considerable lapse of time. Meanwhile a contention occurred within it, occasioned by the promotion of Hooper, afterwards the martyr, to the see of Gloucester.

Hooper was one of those who at Oxford, in the reign of Henry, had opposed the papal doctrines. To avoid the tyranny of the Six Articles he fled from his country, and fixed himself at Zurich till the accession of Edward. Returning then to England, he became popular as a preacher,

and with the approbation of Cranmer was advanced to the episcopal dignity. But, like most of the Helvetic divines, Hooper objected to the episcopal dress. He scrupled also, as some assert, to take the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop; of supremacy to the sovereign, according to others. Without submission to these forms Cranmer refused to consecrate him. The Earl of Warwick in vain applied to the primate, "desiring a forbearance of those things which the Bishop-elect of Gloucester craved to be forborne at his hands, and not to charge him with any oath that seemed burdalous to his conscience." Warwick added, that such was also the king's desire. Cranmer persisted in his denial; and more than two months had passed since the new prelate was nominated, when the king himself was prevailed upon thus to address the archbishop, and thus justly to characterize Hooper:—

"Right reverend father, We greet you well,—Whereas, by the advice of our council, we have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well-worthy Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great learning, deep judgment, and long study, both in the Scriptures and other profound learning; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation; from consecrating whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby you think you should fall in *præmunire* of our laws: we have therefore thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you should run into and be in, in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And this our letter shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at our castle of Windsor the 5th day of August, in the fourth year of our reign."

Ridley advised Cranmer to request, in answer to this gracious letter, that he might not now obey his sovereign against his own laws. The request was granted. But Hooper continued inflexible. He now entered into controversy on the subject with Ridley; and the privy council interfered. On the 6th of October, 1550, the lords of the

council wrote to Ridley, stating their wish that there might not be disputes between men of the same profession, and desiring him to forbear the present. The influence of Warwick had occasioned this direction to the Bishop of London, who replied that he requested to submit to the lords the arguments he had formed upon the subject. To this they agreed. Hooper now sought the advice of Peter Martyr and Bucer ; and to the latter, who was then at Cambridge, Cranmer also, still unwilling to proceed upon his own judgment, thus referred the question :—

“ After my hearty salutations, right well-beloved Master Bucer,—I have read that book which you have sent to Doctor Peter Alexander, concerning the controversy betwixt Master Hooper and the Bishop of London. In which book many things are learnedly declared, and largely handled. Wherefore now I pray you, that you would send unto me your judgment of these questions, expressed with as short brevity of words as you can.

“ Whether, without the offence of God, it may be lawful to the ministers of the Church of England to use those vestures which at these days they wear, and so are prescribed of the magistrate ?

“ Whether he that shall affirm that it is unlawful, or shall refuse to wear this apparel, offendeth against God, for that he sayeth that thing to be unclean that God hath sanctified ; and offendeth against the magistrate, for that he disturbeth the politic order ?

“ To these questions, if you will make most brief answer, and send unto me your judgment as soon as you may possibly, you shall do me great pleasure. God be with you. From Lambeth, the second of December, [1550.]”

The answer of Bucer, dated the tenth of that month, affirmed that the habits might be lawfully worn, “ forasmuch as it is thought good to the king’s majesty, and to the chief council of the realm, to retain the use of these vestures for the present ; and that they who deny the use of such apparel to be lawful, are in error, as they deny all things to be holy to them that are sanctified ; that the use

of them here is received neither upon superstitious nor light cause, and that they who resisted the direction of the magistrate disturbed the public order." Bucer, too, on this occasion, remonstrated with John à Lasco, who applauded the resistance of Hooper, not without severe reflections upon those of a contrary opinion. Bucer argued "that the use of bells was a mark of antichristianity in our churches, when the people by them were called to masses, and when they were rung against tempests; but now they were a token of Christianity, the people by them being gathered together to the Gospel of Christ and other holy actions. Why may it not, then, be that the self-same garments may serve godlily with godly men, that was of wicked signification with the ungodly? Truly, I know very many ministers of Christ, most godly men, who have used godlily these vestures, and at this day do yet use them; so that I dare not for this cause ascribe unto them any fault at all."

To the objections of Hooper against the vestments as relics of Judaism, and as having been used in the service of the Romish mass, Martyr also largely replied from Oxford. Though he wished that the garments might be "laid aside" (himself also appears to have been unwilling at Oxford to wear them), still, until "better may be, we ought," he said, "to bear them." Nor did he scruple to caution Hooper "not to bring the Church of Christ into such bondage, that it may not use anything that the pope used." The authority of Martyr, and of Bucer also, we may add, for the distinct use of ministerial apparel, is repeatedly enforced against the Nonconformists, in the reign of James the First, by Moreton, bishop of Chester, in his valuable "Defence of the Innocency of the Ceremonies of the Church of England."

But to the arguments of Bucer and Martyr, as to those of Cranmer and Ridley, Hooper would not as yet in any point submit. For we find, that on the 13th of January, 1551, "Mr. Hooper, bishop-elect of Gloucester, appeared before the council, touching his old matter of denying to wear such apparel as other bishops wear; and having been before commanded to keep his house, unless it were to go to

the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for satisfaction or counsel of his conscience in that matter ; and further, neither to preach, nor read, until he had license from the council ; it appeared both that he had not kept his house, and that he had also written and printed a book wherein was contained matter that he should not have written. For the which, and for that also he persevered in his former opinion of not wearing the bishops' apparel, he was now committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed, or further to be punished, as the obstinacy of his case required." Even the gentleness of Cranmer continued to be ineffectual. The proceedings of the council state, that " on the 27th of January a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury acquainted them, that Mr. Hooper cannot be brought to any conformity, but rather, persevering in his obstinacy, coveteth to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his own head ; and it was therefore agreed that he should be committed to the Fleet, and that the warden of the prison should keep him from conference of any person, except the minister of that house."

Ere six weeks more had passed, the matter was brought to a compromise ; and he was consecrated on the 8th of March, in the rochet and chimere, the usual vestments of a bishop, which had been so obnoxious to him, and which he now consented to wear in his cathedral, and upon public occasions. The square cap, as well as other clerical habits, had given rise, at this time also, to abundant controversy. To the cap, however, Hooper in like manner occasionally submitted.

In the early part of the year, which had been thus distinguished by Hooper's objections to dress, he had been more successful in the choice of another subject for his preaching, which, however, gave rise to another controversy. He declared before the court, " that it would be well if the government would turn altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ, in order to take away the false persuasion of the people, which they have, of sacrifice to be done upon altars ; for, as long as altars remain, both the ignorant people and the ignorant and ill-

persuaded priest will always dream of sacrifices." Herein Ridley agreed with him; and accordingly, in June 1550, when he held his primary visitation, he enjoined the altars to be taken down in his diocese of London, and tables to be placed in their stead, "to turn the simple from the old superstitions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper." To such an injunction the Romish party naturally excited all the opposition in their power. The council then interfered; and in a letter to Ridley in the following November, signed by Cranmer and others, corroborated what he had directed, and to the other prelates issued a mandate for their conformity to his example. But the order was not by all of them obeyed. In particular Day, bishop of Chichester, who had publicly declared his resistance to such a change, when Hooper's discourse and Ridley's precept became generally known, now resolved to disobey it. Nor could the conference of Cranmer, and other prelates with him, conquer his non-conformity. In the month of December he was therefore committed to the Fleet, and before the next year ended was deprived of his bishopric; to which he was restored on the accession of Mary, in whose reign his actions proved, that while in earlier days he had professed to be a Reformer, he was in reality a zealous Roman Catholic.

Heath, bishop of Worcester, who was still imprisoned for his disobedience in regard to the Ordinal, was at the same time deprived of his see. To that public formulary he now again declined his assent, and added, that "if he were demanded to take down altars and set up tables, he would refuse." He too, in the reign of Mary, recovered his rank, and was advanced to the archbishopric of York. Thus to the opinion, that an altar was necessary for the celebration of mass, two prelates now sacrificed their possessions; the Reformers judging the removal of the altar to be necessary for abolishing the Romish opinion, and the substitution of a table to be more in conformity to primitive practice. Nor was the position of the table now always where the altar stood, which was at the east end of the chancel; in some churches the middle of the chancel being chosen for it. Through the reign of Edward these

diversities of usage in this respect obtained. The accession of Mary restored the altars which had been removed ; that of Elizabeth prudently constituted little difference between the altar and the table, and thus checked the undiscerning fury of the people, again freed from the shackles of Rome, in their demolition of what had acquired in the time of Edward an anti-protestant designation. Her injunction declared it to be "no matter of great moment, whether there were altars or tables, so that the sacrament was duly and reverently administered ;" and ordered, "that where an altar was taken down, a holy table should be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood." The altar-controversy, however, was afterwards revived, and lasted till the Great Rebellion.

Cranmer, however, had loftier work in hand, than a settlement of robes and habits. He had now found his way to the truth on the great sacramental question, and in 1550 he gave to the world his "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ ; with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same ; grounded and established upon God's holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church." So large was the demand for this work, that in the same year three impressions of it appeared ; and many, who had hitherto opposed, were soon led by this invaluable book to embrace the Protestant doctrine.

In the preface the archbishop refers to what "was of late years the face of religion within this realm of England, and yet remaineth in divers realms ;" the indulgences, beads, pardons, and pilgrimages ; hypocrisy and superstition instead of true and sincere religion. "But thanks be to Almighty God," he continues, "and to the king's majesty, with his father, a prince of most famous memory, the superstitious sects of monks and friars that were in this realm be clean taken away ; the Scripture is restored unto the proper and true understanding ; the people may daily read and hear God's heavenly word, and pray in their own language which they understand, so that their hearts and mouths may go together, and they be none of those people

of whom Christ complained, saying, 'These people honour me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me.' Thanks be to God, many corrupt weeds be plucked up, which were wont to rot the flock of Christ, and to let the growing of the Lord's harvest. But what availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as the chief roots remain unpulled up, whereof, so long as they remain, will spring again all former impediments of the Lord's harvest, and corruptions of his flock! The rest is but branches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting down of weeds, leaving the body standing, and the roots in the ground: but the very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it,) and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ, made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions. These injuries to Christ are so intolerable, that no Christian heart can willingly bear them. Wherefore, seeing that many have set to their hands, and whetted their tools, to pluck up the weeds, and to cut down the tree of error, I, not knowing otherwise how to excuse myself at the last day, have in this book set to my hand and axe with the rest to cut down this tree, and to pluck up the weeds and plants by the roots, which our heavenly Father never planted, but were grafted and sown in His vineyard by His adversary the devil, and Antichrist his minister. The Lord grant that this my travail and labour in His vineyard be not in vain, but that it may prosper and bring forth good fruits to His honour and glory. For when I see His vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles, and weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth to me if I hold my peace, and put not to my hands and tongue to labour in purging His vineyard. God I take to witness, who seeth the hearts of all men truly unto the bottom, that I take this labour for none other consideration but for the glory of His name, and the dis-

charge of my duty, and the zeal that I bear toward the flock of Christ. I know in what office God hath placed me, and to what purpose; that is to say, to set forth His word truly unto His people, to the uttermost of my power, without respect of person, or regard of anything in the world, but of Him alone. I know what account I shall make to Him hereof at the last day, when every man shall answer for his vocation, and receive for the same good or ill, according as he hath done."

This valuable work had no sooner seen the light than it was assailed by Bishop Gardiner, then a prisoner in the Tower, and by Dr. Smith, then a fugitive at Louvain. Gardiner had now been confined two years. Still he refused submission to what the council required of him, and still they denied a legal trial which he of them demanded. Commissioners were at length appointed to examine him. These were the archbishop, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, Judge Hales, two civilians, and two masters of chancery. He had been allowed by the council three months to consider whether he would subscribe, as the king had commanded; the deprivation of his bishopric being resolved on if, within that time, he did not submit. He was required to approve of the new service-book, the ordinal, the marriage of the clergy, the homilies which he had impugned, the paraphrase which he had condemned, the demolition of images, the prohibition of the mass, and what himself, indeed, promoted in the former reign, the dissolution of monasteries. But his obstinacy was not thus to be subdued. Before the commissioners he was now to appear; and, "after a great deal of pains and patience" on their part, "he was by the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners deprived, after no less than two-and-twenty sessions held at divers places, that is, from the 15th of December, 1550, to the 14th of February, 1551, though Stow falsely names but seven." He who reads the account of this examination only in Dr. Lingard's recent history of our country, might imagine that the proceedings were those but of a single session, since he says, omitting to name the many days on which Gardiner was heard in his defence, that "Cranmer cut short the pro-

ceedings, and pronounced him contumacious." However, at one of these meetings, "to make his cause more plausible, as though he were at this time the public defender of the Roman Catholic cause in England," he alleged that he was now persecuted for his defence of the corporal presence in the sacrament; and that the archbishop, in his recent work, had named him with no friendly view. He, therefore, in open court, delivered to the commissioners his reply to that work, which a press in France had finished for him, as relating to his present case.

This was a disingenuous proceeding, which Cranmer doubtless would immediately expose; and which, in his formal answer to Gardiner's book, he soon unveiled to the public. "The beginning of your book," said the archbishop to this crafty antagonist, "is framed with such sleight and subtilty, that it may deceive the reader notably in two things. The one, that he should think you were called into judgment before the king's majesty's commissioners at Lambeth for your Catholic faith in the sacrament; the other, that you made your book for your defence therein. Both which are utterly untrue. For your book was made or ever you were called before the commissioners; and after you were called, then you altered two lines in the beginning of your book, and made that beginning which it hath now. This I am able to prove, as well otherwise as by a book which I have of your own handwriting, wherein appeareth plainly the alteration of the beginning. And as concerning the cause wherefore you were called before the commissioners, where, by your own importune, suit, and procurement, and as it were enforcing the matter, you were called to justice for your manifold contempt and continual disobediences from time to time, or rather rebellion against the king's majesty, and were justly deprived of your estate for the same; you would turn it now to a matter of the sacrament, that the world should think your trouble rose for your faith in the sacrament, which was no matter nor occasion thereof, nor was any such matter objected against you. And where you would make that matter the occasion of your worthy deprivation and punishment, which was no cause thereof; and cloke your

wilful obstinacy and disobedience, which was the only cause thereof ; all men of judgment may well perceive that you could mean no goodness thereby, either to the king's majesty or to his realm."

Gardiner, as " he had at all times before the judges of his cause, used himself irreverently to the king, and slanderously towards the council ;" so, in his book, he spared not, instead of argument, offensive reflections upon Cramer. He was an able politician ; he was " to be numbered among good lawyers," as Foxe describes him, " but to be reckoned also among ignorant and gross divines." In order to the present controversy with the archbishop, he was supplied with weapons from the armoury of his brother-champion, Dr. Smith. Cramer, in his answer to him, reminded him of these supplies : " Dr. Smith," said he, " informed me that you had of him all the authorities that be in your book." Again, " I neither willingly go about to deceive the reader in the searching of St. Augustine, as you use to do in every place ; nor have I trusted my man or friend therein, as it seemeth you have done overmuch, but I have diligently expended and weighed the matter myself. In such weighty matters of Scripture, and ancient authors, you must needs trust your men, without whom I know you can do very little, being brought up from your tender age in other kinds of study." He bids him remember, too, a conversation that had lately passed : " As for the word *corporal*," he says, " you openly confessed your own ignorance, in the open audience of all the people at Lambeth, when I asked you what corporal body Christ hath in the sacrament, and whether he had distinction of members or no : your answer was, in effect, that you could not tell. And yet that was a wiser saying than you spoke before in Cyril, where you said, that Christ hath only a spiritual body, and a spiritual presence, and now you say he hath a corporal presence ; and so you confound corporal and spiritual, as if you knew not what either of them meant, or wist not, or cared not, what you said." Often the archbishop also convicts his opponent of " ignorance as great in logic and philosophy as in divinity ;" in stating, too, from " the school-authors," as evidences of their soberness and

devotion, what were gross absurdities, and of making "such divinity as he could dream in his sleep, or devise in his own brain, or draw out of the papistical laws and decrees, and for lack of arguments furnishing his book with pretty toys, with glorious boasting, and with scornful taunts."

Having, with Ridley, espoused the doctrine of Zuinglius, in rejecting all corporal and local presence in the Eucharist, Cranmer had been careful, however, like his learned friend, not to fail in expression (as the Swiss Reformer is thought to have failed, rather than in real meaning), concerning a spiritual presence and spiritual graces. Gardiner, although with twofold evidence of Cranmer's real sentiments upon these graces and this presence before him, repeatedly misrepresented them. "This ignorant lawyer," Cranmer therefore says, "either will not, or cannot, or at least doth not understand, what is meant in the Book of Common Prayer, and in my book also, by the receiving and feeding upon Christ spiritually." What the meaning in both the books is, he therefore repeats in the following words to Gardiner: "I mean not that Christ is spiritually either in the table, or in the bread and wine that are set upon the table; but I mean that he is present in the ministration and receiving of that holy sacrament, according to his own institution and ordinance. Like as in baptism Christ and the Holy Ghost are not in the water or font, but are given in the ministration, or to them that are duly baptized in the water. And although the sacramental tokens are only significations and figures, yet doth Almighty God effectually work in them that duly receive his sacraments, those divine and celestial operations which he hath promised, and by the sacraments are signified. For else they were vain and unfruitful sacraments as well to the godly as to the ungodly. And, therefore, I never said of the whole supper, that it is but a signification, or a bare memory of Christ's death; but I teach that it is a spiritual refreshing, wherein our souls are fed and nourished with Christ's very flesh and blood to eternal life."

Luther has often, and justly, been censured for pretending to explain his doctrine of the real presence, absurd and

contradictory as it was, by the statement of two distinct substances in red-hot iron, namely, iron and fire united : so with the bread in the Eucharist, said he, is joined the body of Christ. Maclaine, in his notes upon Mosheim, mentions "this miserable comparison, to show into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius." Cranmer, in his defence of the true doctrine, it is curious to observe, has, however, ingeniously propounded the illustration of "hot and burning iron, which is iron still," he says, "and yet hath the force of fire ;—so the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their proper kinds, and yet to them that worthily eat and drink them, they are turned, not into the corporal presence," as Luther taught, "but into the virtue of Christ's flesh and blood."

The archbishop's reply to Gardiner, "as occasion serves, answers such places of Dr. Richard Smith, as may seem anything worthy the answering." Smith, although a learned, was a weak as well as a perfidious man. In the animadversions upon Gardiner, often, he is therefore incorporated, and sometimes is exposed as contradicting the champion with whom he sided. But the preface to his book receives a distinct answer from the archbishop, after the closing page of the controversy with Gardiner.

It was late in the year 1551, when the archbishop's reply to these opponents was allowed to be published. Again it was printed in the following year. And as a proof, not only of the welcome which it had experienced, but of the high character which it maintained, it was re-published in 1580. Archbishop Parker, indeed, has said of it, that no controversy against Romanists was ever handled more accurately ; and upon the language as well as the spirit of it, upon its acuteness as well as its zeal, succeeding writers of distinction have bestowed their eulogy. Nothing could be more fair and candid than the order in which it was formed. In it was incorporated the whole of his *Defence of the True Doctrine*, and of his adversary's reply to it. Distinct paragraphs from his own book were first presented to the reader, which were followed by the animadversions of Gardiner, as those were by the archiepiscopal confutations of

them. Gardiner returned an answer while yet in prison, under the feigned name of "M. A. Constantius:" supplied still more largely than he had been before, with materials for his work, by the industry of others. His new book was accordingly denominated, "*Pandora's Box*, to which all the lesser gods brought their presents: for every man, were his learning less or more, that had any arguments for the Romish doctrine, brought them all to him, (many of which were windy and trivial enough,) and out of the heap he made his collections as he thought good." It was published at Louvain in 1552; afterwards it appeared in 1554, with the triumphant addition of Gardiner's real name, Mary being then the sovereign, and himself her chancellor. Cranmer, when he also was in prison, vindicated what had been thus attacked to a very great extent, and intended some addition to that vindication, if it might have been, "before his life," as he said, "were taken away, which he saw was likely to be within a very short space." After that event, Peter Martyr, indeed, appeared as his acute and elaborate defender. His own vindication is supposed to be lost.

X.

SPOILIATIONS OF CHURCH PROPERTY—THE ARTICLES—THE
REFORMATIO LEGUM—DECLINING HEALTH AND
DEATH OF EDWARD.

A.D. 1551—1553.

GARDINER had now been deprived and imprisoned, for his determined opposition to the Reformation of the Church. He had been committed to the Tower by the council, in 1548, for his turbulent and contumacious demeanour. One main object of the government was to extort from him a public declaration from the pulpit, of the competency of the king to exercise the royal power, while he was yet under age. This demand he constantly evaded. It was a maxim, diligently circulated among his party, that the supremacy of the king was so far in abeyance during his minority, that it could not be exerted for the purpose of effecting any change of the existing laws. The notion was extravagantly absurd ; for a case might happen, in which the effect of it would be to suspend nearly the whole business of legislation for a period of sixteen or eighteen years ! It was, however, so incomparably adapted for the designs of the Roman Catholic faction, that they appeared to take their stand upon it, as the most advantageous position from which they could harass and impede the march of their adversaries. And there were some among them who seemed anxious to fortify it by the application of another principle ; namely, that the enlightening grace conveyed to the Lord's anointed, at the solemnity of his coronation, could not develope itself until he should reach the years of manhood and discretion. They were, therefore,

loud in their professions of ready submission to the supremacy of the king ; but, at the same time, they protested that they were under no obligation to acknowledge the supremacy of the council. It will easily be perceived, how embarrassing and how dangerous such maxims as these must have been to the existing government ; more especially at a time when the banners of insurrection were waving in so many provinces of the kingdom. They amounted to very little short of disguised rebellion. Considered, therefore, with reference to the circumstances of the times, the imprisonment of this very untractable churchman may perhaps be regarded as an act of excusable severity. But be this as it may, this proceeding entirely failed to break the spirit of Gardiner. He persisted in demanding a legal trial ; and at length, after he had been about two years in the Tower, the council resolved, as we have seen, that he should be examined by a commission, whose proceedings furnished Gardiner with an opportunity of exhibiting his mastery in the artifices of defensive warfare ; and it was not till after two-and-twenty sessions that the Commissioners pronounced him contumacious, and declared his bishopric void.

The best apology that can be made, for the severity with which Gardiner was treated, is, that the spirit of insurrection had been encouraged by the doctrine of resistance to the council ; and that, by obstinately refusing to disclaim that doctrine, Gardiner had administered a most formidable incitement to sedition and bloodshed. It was now, indeed, but too manifest, that although rebellion had been repressed, the confidence of the Romanists was daily gaining strength. The sky was beginning to redden with prognostics, which lowered upon their enemies, but to them were the signs of prosperous days. The health of the royal minor had begun to show symptoms of premature decay. The princess who was next in succession was apparently of a firmer constitution than her brother ; her devotion to the ancient faith and discipline was inflexible ; and her narrowness of mind, and steadiness of purpose, promised to make her an invaluable instrument

in their hands. All this while, the counsels of the great and powerful Reformers had been enfeebled by mutual discord. First came the mortal strife between the Lord Admiral and the Protector. Then followed the conflict between the protector and the rest of the regency, with its tragical termination. Next was the elevation to the protectorate of Dudley, earl of Warwick, a man notorious for his inordinate ambition, and his arrogant and arbitrary character. And, lastly, may be mentioned the conduct of many of the Protestant nobility, and some even of the Protestant ecclesiastics, who had long been doing all that men could do to render their cause odious, and themselves contemptible, by showing that their love for the Reformation was but another name for their lust of spoil. The opportunities afforded by the deprivation of bishops were frequently turned to account by ambitious statesmen, who forced the newly-appointed successors to grant them leases, and otherwise to alienate the estates of the Church. Apparently with some such view, proceedings were now commenced against another great prelate, Tunstal, bishop of Durham, who, in spite of Cranmer's efforts to obtain justice for him, was deprived of his see. Enormous as had been the inroads already made on the property of the Church, the cupidity of the ambitious courtiers could not be satisfied. While the young sovereign was making an excursion, and the archbishop was resident at Croydon, in the summer of 1552, the enemies of the latter are believed to have been active in malicious designs, both against himself and others of his order. The prelates, it was pretended, were extremely rich, avaricious, inhospitable, careful only for themselves and their posterity. To these reports the secretary Cecil had listened. Of Church property he had already received some grants. Others, more greedy, perhaps, of ecclesiastical prey, he knew. He affected, therefore, to caution the archbishop in the words of St. Paul, that they who will be rich fall into temptation and a snare. Cranmer, in the following answer to him, invalidated these reports, not without glancing at the plunder that had already been allowed :—

"After my most hearty commendations and thanks, as well for your genteel letters, as for the Pacification, and for your good remembrance of the two matters which I desired you not to forget, the one concerning the Bishop of Cologne's letters, and the other Mr. Mowse ; for whom, efts-
soons, I give you my most hearty thanks.

"As for your admonition, I take it most thankfully, as I have ever been most glad to be admonished by my friends, accounting no man so foolish as he that will not hear friendly admonishments. But as for the saying of St. Paul, '*Qui volunt ditescere, incidunt in tentationem*,' I fear it not half so much as I do stark beggary. For I took not half so much care for my living when I was a scholar of Cambridge, as I do at this present. For although I have now much more revenue, yet I have much more to do withal, and have more care to live now as an archbishop than I had at that time to live like a scholar. I have not so much as I had within ten years past by one hundred and fifty pounds of certain rent, besides casualties. I pay double for everything that I buy. If a good auditor have this account, he shall find no great surplusage to wax rich upon. And if I knew any bishop that was covetous, I would surely admonish him ; but I know none but all beggars, except it be one, and yet, I dare well say, he is not very rich. If you know any, I beseech you to advertise me, for, peradventure, I may advise him better than you.

"To be short, I am not so doted to set my mind upon things here, which neither I can carry away with me, nor tarry long with them. If time would have served, I would have written of other things unto you ; but your servant making haste, compelleth me here to cut the thread, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the king's majesty, with all his council and family, and send him well to return from his progress. From my manor of Croydon, the xxi. of July, [1552.]

"Your own ever,

"T. CANTUAR."

The next great object to which the archbishop directed his attention was, the framing and setting forth "Articles

of Religion." In the month of May, 1552, the first copy of them was laid before the privy council, by whom, in the preceding year, Cranmer was empowered to compose the formulary. We have before noticed him intent upon such a plan. It has been said, that when interrogated on this very point by his relentless persecutors, not long before his death, he unequivocally avowed himself to have been the author of these Articles. It has nevertheless been usually conceived, that he derived much assistance from Ridley, who, as far as the paucity of his writings enables us to judge, seems to have no less excelled in perspicuity than in solidity of argument, in manliness of conception than in energy of expression. Latimer likewise has been considered as his coadjutor in the same undertaking. That each of these respectable bishops was consulted on the occasion appears highly probable. Ridley, if an anecdote recorded of him be accurate, expressly stated, that he both perused the production before its publication, and noted many things for it; that he thus consented to it, but that he was not the author of it. The venerable Latimer, who had resigned his bishopric in the reign of Henry, declining a reinstatement in it, then dwelt under the roof of the archbishop, by whom, for his virtues and integrity, he was sincerely respected and cordially beloved. To a divine of this description, so peculiarly circumstanced, it is impossible to suppose a design of such importance not to have been communicated; to one who had acquired the proud title of "the Apostle of England," who had long been the primate's fellow-labourer in the work of reformation, and who was capable not only of improving it by his wisdom and experience, but of conferring upon it an old man's benediction. But although we allow this, and even more than this—although we admit that Cranmer held in the highest esteem the masculine mind of Ridley, and the plain but strong sense as well as unshaken probity of Latimer—men, who bore able testimony to the truth while in prosperity, and in adversity sealed it with their blood; yet it appears not that, from any consciousness of personal inferiority, he ever beheld them with an obsequious eye. He, indeed, ought alone to be considered as

the real and ostensible author of the production ; although collecting the sentiments of others, yet in all cases exercising the privilege of accepting or rejecting what may have been offered to him at pleasure, and regulating his decisions by a judgment, to which all with submission bowed ; which, matured by the most extensive reading, and formed upon the purest principles, his adversaries respected and his friends revered.

To other prelates, besides Ridley and Latimer—to the six royal chaplains, Harley, Bill, Horn, Grindal, Perne, and Knox—to his fellow-labourer in various transactions to promote the Reformation, Dr. Cox—and to the distinguished laymen, Cecil and Sir John Cheke, the Articles were indeed submitted. The wish to be guided by the judgment of others, was the result of that modest opinion which Cranmer constantly entertained of his own, however excellent it was. After the Articles had been first shown to Cecil and to Cheke, and had been returned with some remarks, he, in the month of September, amended the compilation, but still earnestly entreated the further consideration of both the learned courtiers. “ I have sent,” he writes to Cecil, “ the book of Articles for Religion unto Mr. Cheke, set in a better order than it was, and the titles upon every matter, adding thereto that which lacked. I pray you, consider well the Articles with Mr. Cheke ; and, whether you think best to move the king’s majesty therein before my coming, I refer that unto your two wisdoms.”

The Articles were immediately laid before the king ; at the beginning of the next month the royal chaplains, already mentioned, were required to overlook them ; and the privy council, a few weeks afterwards, dispatched the book to the archbishop, for “ the last corrections of his judgment and his pen,” at his residence in Kent, whence he returned it to them with the following letter :—

“ After my very humble recommendations unto your good lordships, I have sent unto the same the book of Articles, which yesterday I received from your lordships. I have sent also a cedula enclosed, declaring briefly my

mind upon the said book ; beseeching your lordships to be means unto the king's majesty, that all the bishops may have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe the said Articles. And then I trust, that such a concord and quietness in religion shall shortly follow thereof, as else is not to be looked for many years. God shall thereby be glorified, His truth shall be advanced, and your lordships shall be rewarded of Him as the setters forward of His true Word and Gospel. Unto whom is my daily prayer, without ceasing, to preserve the king's majesty, with all your honourable lordships. From my house at Ford, the xxiv. of this present month of November, [1552.]

“ Your lordships' ever to command,

“ T. CANTUAR.”

The mandate of the king to cause the required subscription was issued not many days before his death. What occasioned this delay of publication more than six months after the examination which the Articles thus had undergone, and after the last corrections of the principal composer's pen, it is impossible now to affirm. But it is probable they were, in that interval, submitted to the two houses of convocation, and that out of both a committee was chosen who might assent to them in the name of the whole. Burnet contends that they were not thus offered alike to the prelates and the inferior clergy, but admits the probability of their having been brought into the upper house only.

It was not till the fifth year of Elizabeth's reign that these Articles of Edward received any alteration. They were then submitted to a committee of the lower house of convocation for such addition, or correction, as might be thought convenient. Very few were the amendments, but the number of Articles was reduced to thirty-nine. They are recited, it must be added, as having been agreed upon by the synod of 1552 ; an assumption which Archbishop Parker would hardly have allowed if they had not possessed the authority which their title records.

One more great design was not permitted to come to maturity. It had long been seen to be necessary that a code of canon law should be set forth, for the proper establishment of Church discipline. Towards the close of Henry's days a scheme of it was drawn up. In the present reign the subject had been revived at the beginning of it, and the promulgation of the code was expected in the last year of it. Whether by the death of Henry, or some other cause, the plan in his time had been rendered abortive, is uncertain. That by the death of Edward it now was, is the frequent assertion of historical writers. Some, however, have thought that the severity of the code would never have been endured in this country, and that this is the true reason why it was laid aside. Others, that in that age of licentiousness, which ill could brook restraint, some art was employed to prevent the confirmation of it. The observation of Cox, who was one of the eight commissioners chosen to finish it for publication, has been cited in aid of this opinion. Only a few days before the meeting, for the accomplishment of what had so often been talked of, and of which the substance must have been generally known, he wrote to Bullinger, at Zurich, telling him that the liturgy had been revised; "but we hate," said he, "the bitter institutions of Christian discipline;" and he therefore entreated Bullinger to exert his interest with the nobility and other distinguished persons, in behalf of spiritual jurisdiction; considering it, no doubt, when "aided by the civil power, as the best safeguard of a Christian commonwealth against vice." In fact, the prelates of the realm had long before occasioned the legislative nomination of the thirty-two commissioners for the accomplishment of the present work, by their complaint to the House of Lords of the great increase of immorality, and by their desire to be supplied with laws which should enable them to suppress it. In November, 1551, Edward nominated eight of these thirty-two commissioners to lay first before the remainder of them, afterwards before himself and his privy council, the intended code. At the head of these eight persons was the archbishop, to whom the subject was so familiar, an abler canonist than him not being easily to be found within

the realm. The book was ready for the inspection of the king some months before he died, but there is no evidence that he ever saw it. His commission indeed, as that of Henry had also been, was prepared to introduce this body of laws to the public ; and both are prefixed to the edition of the book, published in 1571 under the direction of Archbishop Parker, by Foxe the martyrologist, with the title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. The compilation is supposed to have been originally made in English, and to have received from Haddon, the king's professor of civil law at Cambridge, with the assistance of Sir John Cheke, the elegant Latin shape, "the correct and beautiful style," that distinguishes it. It was distributed into fifty-one titles, to bring it near to the number of those in Justinian's celebrated digest of the Roman civil law ; besides an appendix, *De regulis Juris*, in imitation of the same addition to printed copies of the Pandects. In the name of the king the whole law runs. The supremacy acknowledged in his father is thought to have occasioned this form. The authority of Edward, however, for its establishment, as I have said, was not obtained. But the project did not die with him, as some modern writers have asserted. The reign of Elizabeth witnessed not merely the publication of it, which we have just noticed, but before that time an attempt to establish such a work, and in the very year of the publication another to obtain, for what Cranmer had so long before compiled, the sanction of the legislature. At the commencement of the parliamentary session, in 1571, the puritan members in the House of Commons, who were desirous of assuming everything to themselves, claimed this sanction for it. Elizabeth, jealous of their encroachment upon her supremacy, checked the wish, it has been said, by a message to them, "that she approved their good endeavours, but would not suffer these things to be ordered by parliament." Nor was the designed revival of the code further agitated. In that year, however, *A Book of certain Canons, concerning some part of the Discipline of the Church of England*, was subscribed in convocation by the bishops, and printed first in English, afterwards in Latin ; the latter form being sometimes an accompaniment to editions of the

thirty-nine Articles in that language, as they were published in 1571.

The autumn of the year 1552 found Cranmer in his retirement at Ford, near Canterbury. The council directed a letter to him there, for the purpose of examining a sect newly sprung up in the county. Of this sect, neither the name nor character is recorded. All that appears is, that the archbishop was desired to prevent the dissemination of its tenets, whatever they were. It could not be that of the Anabaptists, says Strype ; for against them a commission, still in force, had been issued some years before. It was, perhaps, he adds, a branch of the Family of Love, or "the sect of David George, who made himself sometimes Christ, and sometimes the Holy Ghost." But it was Henry Nicholas, the constant companion of that enthusiast, who was the founder of this family. The doctrine of George and Nicholas, however, was much the same ; though the title of their disciples, first in Holland, the native country of both the teachers, was not known before 1555 or 1556, when the former died. But the principles of the sect had probably been introduced into England before that time ; as the following passage in a treatise by Becon, the learned chaplain of Cranmer, seems to prove : "What wicked and ungodly opinions are there sown now-a-days of the Anabaptists, Davidians, Libertines, and such other pestilent sects, in the hearts of the people, to the great disquietness of Christ's Church, moving rather to sedition than to pure religion, to heresy than to things godly !" It is related also in the *Displaying of the Family of Love*, that "there had been many of our Englishmen in Flanders to confer with this Henry Nicholas, their author, of whom, in their return, they speak great good of his wisdom, of his mild nature, of his humility, and of his patience ; yea, and they vainly boast that he knew of their secret messages, which they account to be miraculous." His directions for belonging to this family, it is curious to observe, were these : "They must pass four most terrible castles, full of cumbersome enemies, before they come to the house of love ; the first is, of John Calvin, the second the Papists, the third Martin Luther, the fourth the Anabaptists ; and, passing

these dangers, they may be of the family, else not." That is, other theological tenets than his own he considered of no moment. Of these several were blasphemous as well as absurd; and it is no wonder that his pretensions led his followers into laxity of morals. If we find no other allusion to this sect, or at least none of any importance, in the present or succeeding reign, our ecclesiastical history in that of Elizabeth describes it as then widely prevailing, and occasioning no small confusion in the kingdom.

The young king had now long suffered under declining health; and the commission which we have just noticed, as well as his authority for the Catechism and Articles, were signed, when it was evident that beyond a few weeks his life could not last. It was at this time, too, that Northumberland married his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to the Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and grand-daughter of Mary, sister to Henry VIII, under the hope of excluding from the throne, after Edward's death, both Mary and Elizabeth, upon the plea of unpepealed illegitimacy; and of placing the crown upon the head of his son's wife. To this project he obtained the consent of the dying sovereign. The insidious statesman is described by Godwin, as suggesting to his royal master the danger in which the Church would be if he appointed not a successor who would maintain the established religion. "How the Lady Mary stood affected," he said, "was well known. Of the Lady Elizabeth there might, perhaps, be better hopes. But their cases were so similar, that either both must be excluded or the former be admitted. Of a religious and good prince it was the duty not to regard the regular lineage, where the glory of God and the good of his subjects might be endangered; nor could he be able, if he acted otherwise, to answer it before God. The three daughters of the Duke of Suffolk, after his royal sisters, were the next of kin to him. Their virtues, as well as their birth, commended them. From them neither the violation of religion, nor the danger of a foreign yoke by any match, was to be feared. They had been educated in that faith and worship which his majesty had happily established, and were united to husbands as zealous Pro-

testants as themselves. These he would advise to be named successively as heirs to the throne."

So spake the false dissembler; and the instrument of succession was prepared accordingly. The Lady Frances, the mother of Jane Grey, was at first intended by Edward as his successor. But the transfer of the right to her eldest daughter, though right it cannot be called, was readily made. The way for the young queen was thus illegally secured, not without a moral violation in those whom Northumberland induced to sanction it; most of whom had sworn to preserve the order of succession directed by the will of Henry. Cranmer in vain opposed it. He argued repeatedly, but ineffectually, with his young sovereign, in the presence of others, against a proceeding so ill-advised and so illegal. He desired to converse with him indeed alone, and said afterwards, we shall find, that "if this had been permitted he had saved the king from his weakness, and Northumberland from his disgrace." Northumberland not only prevented such an interview, so honourable as the consequences of it might have been in giving a just direction to Edward's mind, and in preserving the firmness of Cranmer himself; but before the council, with his accustomed haughtiness, exclaimed, "that it became not the archbishop to speak to the king, even as he had already done, so as to dissuade him from the present purpose."

Cranmer at last gave his assent to this purpose; so reluctantly, however, as to elicit, even from his enemies, the admission that he was, as it were, compelled to it. Nor during the remaining days of obloquy and suffering, that soon were his, did they allege his share in this transaction among their grounds of reproach.

There was no reason for supposing that he had been either won by the promises or awed by the threats of Northumberland. He tells us plainly how he was overruled, in the letter which he afterwards addressed to Mary; and his statement, which, if it had not been entitled to entire belief, would have been immediately contradicted, thus materially alters the representation that has been cited. "I ask mercy and pardon," he says, "for my heinous

folly and offence in consenting to, and following, the testament and last will of our late sovereign lord, King Edward VI., your grace's brother ; which, well God he knoweth, I never liked, nor anything grieved me so much that your grace's brother did. And if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it. And what I said therein, as well to the council as to himself, divers of your majesty's council can report ; but none so well as the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, then lord-chamberlain to the king's majesty, which two were present at the communication between the king's majesty and me. I desired to talk with the king's majesty alone, but I could not be suffered ; and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have communed with the king alone, and at good leisure, my trust was, that I should have altered him from his purpose ; but they being present my labour was in vain.

"Then, when I could not dissuade him from the said will, and both he and his privy council also informed me that the judges and his learned council said, that the Act of entailing the crown, made by his father, could not be prejudicial to him ; but that he, being in possession of the crown, might make his will thereof : this seemed very strange unto me. But being the sentence of the judges, and other his learned counsel in the laws of this realm (as both he and his council informed me), methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my prince therein. And so at length I was required by the king's majesty himself to set my hand to his will ; saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the council were. Which words surely grieved my heart very sore, and so I granted him to subscribe his will, and to follow the same. Which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation.

"For the which I submit myself most humbly unto your majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grievous and sorrowful heart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon ; which my heart giveth me shall not be denied unto me, being granted before to so many, who travailed

not so much to dissuade both the king and his council as I did.

"And whereas it is contained in two Acts of Parliament, as I understand, that I, with the Duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your majesty from your royal crown, surely it is untrue. For the duke never opened his mouth to me, to move me [to] any such matter. Nor his heart was not such toward me (seeking long time my destruction), that he would ever trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was other of the council that moved me, and the king himself, the Duke of Northumberland not being present. Neither before, neither after, had I ever any privy communication with the duke of that matter, saving that openly, at the council-table, the duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the king as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from his said will."

After his disputation, too, at Oxford, imploring the lords of the council to intercede for him with the queen, he says, "Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord, King Edward VI., and what I spake against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships." And was this appeal to living witnesses answered by any confutation of the veracity of his statement? No, not even by a solitary witness, although in that council were assembled some of his bitterest and acutest enemies. It remained for an historian of our own days to challenge it; but it is beyond his power to destroy it. In truth, the archbishop was well aware of the injustice, and seems to have expected the failure, of placing Jane upon the throne, although he wanted sufficient firmness altogether to reject the proposition.

Edward's death soon followed this transaction. The letter of the council, probably written by Cranmer, to the ambassador at the court of the emperor, says, "God hath called out of this world our sovereign lord the sixth of this month (July) towards night, whose manner of death was such towards God as assureth us that his soul is in place

of eternal joy. The disease whereof he died was of the putrefaction of the lungs, being utterly incurable."

The temporary accession of the Lady Jane, and the ineffectual attempts of her partisans to maintain her in power, now followed. In vain did Cranmer and his fellow-councillors call upon Mary to recognise the sovereignty which had been forced upon her young rival. In vain did he join the decreased number of the lords, in calling upon others to remain firm in the allegiance which had been promised to Jane. Eleven days only witnessed the sceptre in her hands; the council that had placed it in them then agreed to acknowledge, that they had placed it erroneously, and to Mary tendered their loyalty. The dethroned lady and the unhappy primate we shall soon find within the walls of the same prison.

XI.

FIRST YEAR OF QUEEN MARY—CRANMER'S COMMITTAL TO THE TOWER.

A.D. 1553—1554.

THE lamentable history of that innocent sufferer for the ambitious designs of her relatives—Lady Jane Grey—is too well known to require any notice in this place. Cranmer's inability to resist the intreaties of friends had again involved him, as it had done in many former instances, in the wrong-doing of others. He was concerned in this attempt to set aside the legitimate heir, and thus his greatest enemy—she who regarded him as the cause of her mother's degradation—had a just ground for treating him as her personal foe. On the 9th of July, allegiance was sworn to Jane by the great officers of state; and immediately after, in reply to a communication from Mary to the council, asserting her pretensions to the throne, an answer, or manifesto, was issued by them, reminding her of her illegitimacy, and charging her to desist from her opposition to the lawful sovereign; and to this document the name of the primate was undoubtedly affixed. It further appears that the courtiers remained firm to the Lady Jane till the 19th of July; for on that day Cranmer, together with the other members of the council assembled in the Tower, addressed a mandate to Lord Rich, the lord-lieutenant of the county of Essex, exhorting and requiring him to remain true and faithful to the cause. On the very following day, however, the tide of allegiance began suddenly to ebb away. Several of the very same men who, on the 19th, had stoutly summoned her subjects to her defence, on the 20th were suddenly impatient to send in their submissions to Mary.

This capitulation was endorsed by Cecil ; and in excusing their defection from the queen, it distinctly alleges, that the parties to the document were "prevented from uttering their determination before, without great destruction and bloodshed of themselves and others." On the same day, too, they despatched an order to the Duke of Northumberland, requiring him to disarm without delay ; which order was also signed by the archbishop. From this moment the plot of the Protector was no better than a heap of ruins. The fabric which he had been building up through the whole of his ambitious life was, in an instant, in fragments at his feet ; and so sensible was he of this, that when the queen was proclaimed at Cambridge, he was among the first to throw up his cap, and to cry out "God save Queen Mary." But his tardy and hypocritical loyalty was unable to save him from the axe ; and, unhappily, his blameless and exemplary daughter-in-law was involved in the destiny, which ought to have been reserved solely for the architects by whom she was unhappily surrounded.

The new queen, in her reply to the city of London on the 12th of August, declared, that "she meant, graciously, not to compel or strain other men's consciences, otherwise than as God should, as she trusted, put into their hearts a persuasion of the truth, through the opening his word unto them." The manner in which the "word was to be opened," and the consciences of her subjects enlightened to receive the truth, speedily became apparent. A very clear indication of the intended process was made in a proclamation, which followed on the 18th of the same month, in which she repeated her indulgent declaration, with the reserve, that it was to be continued "until such time as further order, by common consent, may be taken therein." The text here promulgated was soon attended by a practical and very intelligible commentary, in the release and restoration of Gardiner, Tunstal, Bonner, Heath, and Day ; in the advancement of the Bishop of Winchester to the dignity of chancellor ; and in the issuing of a commission for licensing, under the great seal, such preachers only as, in his estimation, should be of sufficient gravity and discretion to be entrusted with the office. This order for silencing the

Reformed Clergy, it will be observed, was a more arbitrary exercise of the royal supremacy than had ever been resorted to in the course of the preceding reign; for it excluded the primate from all share in the selection of preachers, and consigned the matter wholly to the judgment of the chancellor. A still more formidable intimation of the designs of the court was, the issuing of a commission to the Bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, and Durham, (men whose tempers were not likely to be much sweetened by the treatment they had experienced in the former reign,) authorising them to degrade and imprison the Protestant clergy, both ministers and prelates, on the threefold charge of treason, heresy, and matrimony. Of course, it was not to be expected that Cranmer would remain long unmolested after the queen was firmly seated on her throne. Early in the month of August he was summoned before the council, doubtless to answer for his participation in the late treasonable attempt, and was immediately ordered to confine himself to Lambeth. He was brought before them again on the 27th of the same month, and commanded to bring with him an inventory of his goods. What may have been the intention of the court towards him, at this moment, it may not be very easy to pronounce. Their proceedings, however, soon wore an aspect of more decided severity; for about the middle of the following September he was committed to the Tower. The order for his committal was issued by men who were as deeply involved in political delinquency as himself, and who yet had the effrontery to state, as the reason for his imprisonment, that it was "thought convenient, as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's majesty, as for aggravating that offence, by spreading about seditious bills, moving tumults to the disquieting the present state,"—that he should remain in custody till he should be "referred to justice, or further ordered as should stand with the queen's pleasure."

By the "present state," the councillors must probably have meant the state of things which then existed in the mind and contemplation of Mary and her Roman Catholic advisers: for no other "state" than this, most certainly,

could be affected by any proceedings of Cranmer. So far, at least, as religion was concerned, the circumstances which involved him in the charge of tumult and sedition had been of a directly opposite tendency ; for they were precisely such as indicated a resolution to maintain things in the very condition in which they were left by Edward VI., and which, as yet, had not been revoked by any legal enactment. The incidents, to which the council had above alluded, were as follow. The obsequies of the late king were celebrated in English at Westminster Abbey, and the sacrament administered according to the ritual of King Edward, while a solemn dirge and high mass in Latin were chanted for him in the chapel of the Tower. That the archbishop was concerned in either of these solemnities is utterly destitute of proof. With the dirge and requiem he assuredly had no concern ; and, according to Godwyn, Day, the bishop of Chichester (who had been imprisoned in the last reign), was the person who officiated at the funeral service in English. It was, nevertheless, reported that Cranmer had professed his readiness to officiate in the Latin service ; and — what was still more outrageously false — that he had actually restored the celebration of the mass in his own cathedral. These calumnies were too much even for the habitual equanimity of the archbishop.

“He drew up,” says the Romish historian, Lingard, “with a boldness which does honour to his courage,” a Declaration, intended to clear himself from this imputation. This paper he first submitted to Scory, now deprived of the bishopric of Chichester, for the advantage of his private and friendly consideration. Scory indiscreetly gave copies of it, while as yet it was considered by Cranmer incomplete. Of these, one was read in Cheapside, and others were dispersed, but without the knowledge or consent, on the contrary, to the great mortification, of the archbishop. Some of these copies were brought to the lords of the council, by whom, when he was asked if he was the author of the Declaration, he answered, that certainly he was ; but that he was very sorry to find the paper had gone from him in such a manner, as he had resolved to enlarge it in many respects, and to affix it, with

his hand and seal to it, to the doors of the churches in London. As it was, the following copy has been preserved :—

“ A Declaration of the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, condemning the untrue and slanderous report of some which have reported, that he should set up the mass at Canterbury, at the first coming of the queen to her reign, 1553.

“ As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lying ; even so hath he stirred his servants and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and religion : which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present. For whereas the most noble prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII., seeing the great abuses of the Latin masses, reformed something herein in his time ; and also our late sovereign lord King Edward VI., took the same whole away for the manifold errors and abuses thereof, and restored in the place thereof Christ's Holy Supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles in the Primitive Church used the same in the beginning. The devil goeth about by lying to overthrow the Lord's Holy Supper, and to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. I have been well exercised these twenty years, to suffer and bear evil reports and lies ; and have not been much grieved thereat, and have borne all things quietly. Yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they be in no wise to be tolerated and suffered. Wherefore these be to signify to the world, that it was not I that did set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk which caused the mass to be set up there, without my advice or counsel.

“ And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did, as her

grace knoweth well. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say the contrary; and that the Communion-Book, set forth by the most innocent and godly prince, King Edward VI., in his high court of parliament, is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which his apostles and primitive Church used many years. Whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the Primitive Church, but also is manifestly contrary to the same; and containeth many horrible blasphemies in it. And although many, either unlearned, or maliciously, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned; yet if the queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, that not only our Common Prayers of the churches, ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also that all the doctrine and religion, by our said sovereign lord King Edward VI., is more pure, and according to God's word, than any that hath been used in England these thousand years; so that God's word may be the judge, and that the reason and proofs may be set out in writing. To the intent as well all the world may examine and judge them, as that no man shall start back from their writing. And what faith hath been in the Church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the Church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove, that the order of the Church, set out at this present in this Church of England by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the Church fifteen hundred years past. And so shall they never be able to prove theirs."

Surely, this document ought to silence, if anything could, such calumnies as those of a modern historian, that Cranmer was a supple courtier, who would have said mass, and behaved himself as a loyal servant of the pope, if Mary would have only permitted him to live.

It was while this manifesto was in circulation, that Cranmer was summoned to appear before the queen's commissioners. He might have followed the earnest advice of his friends to fly, as others now had fled, from the persecutions at hand. But he nobly resolved not to desert his post. "Were I accused," said he to those who were anxious for his safety, "of theft, parricide, or some other crime, although I were innocent, I might, peradventure, be induced so to shift for myself; but being questioned for my allegiance, not to men, but to God, the truth of whose holy word is to be asserted against the errors of popery, I have at this time, with a constancy befitting a Christian prelate, resolved rather to leave my life than the kingdom." Others, however, he entreated to follow the counsel which himself had declined, and to one of them thus alleged some reasons:—

"The true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ. And whosoever hath him, hath company enough, although he were in a wilderness all alone. And he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion? If you be loth to depart from your kin and friends, remember, that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kin.

"If you be loth to depart for slanderer's word, remember, that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees, and commanded his Apostles, that if they were pursued in one place they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used, from time to time,

to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other Apostles. Albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they showed themselves that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom, to do more good, and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ; then they showed how little they passed of death; how much they feared God more than men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this short and miserable life.

"Wherefore I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment as by the example of him and his Apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of yours and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served. Which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutor's hands. And the Lord send his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go. And all that be godly will say, Amen."

By the settlement of his own affairs, and the payment of all his debts, the archbishop prepared himself for the worst even with cheerfulness, exclaiming, says Foxe, "that he was now his own man, and with the help of God was ready to meet any adversity." His resolution had no sooner been formed than he was a second time brought before the lords of the council, who sent him to the Tower, "as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's majesty, as for aggravating of the same his offence by spreading about seditious bills, moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state." And yet not a single bill, or declaration, is Cranmer known to have dispersed. To the injudicious zeal of his friend the alleged mischief is to be attributed. At the close of the Latin version of the

above Declaration, published by Valeran Pullan in 1554, the surreptitious circulation of it is plainly stated.

However, the archbishop was now entirely deprived of his liberty; yet till the 13th of November, when he was escorted from the Tower with the Lady Jane and her husband, to a public trial, he was not adjudged guilty of treason. But as others more deeply implicated in the accusation of adherence to Jane had already been pardoned, to him also was afterwards forgiven the crime of a traitor, while for that of a heretic it was determined that still he should suffer. He was now remanded, with the young couple, to the prison; and though Jane, on her return, was forbidden by the savage cruelty of Mary to see again her husband, (before the last day of their lives,) convicted like herself, it does not appear that the archbishop was prohibited from visiting her. It should seem rather, by a letter to the lieutenant of the Tower, that they were allowed to meet. That officer was "to suffer the late Duke of Northumberland's children to have the liberty of walking within the garden of the Tower; and also to minister the like favours to the Lady Jane and Doctor Cranmer." The archbishop, no doubt, would strengthen her resistance to the frequent efforts which Mary made to convert her to the Romish faith; a resistance, indeed, which from the beginning of her confinement seems to have been her inviolable determination, as we learn from a conference between herself and a visitor in the house of the warder of the Tower (whose name was Partridge), in which she was lodged; part of which we give, as an interesting relic:—"On Tuesday, the 29th of August," says the visitor, "I dined at Partridge's house with my Lady Jane. After that we fell in discourse of matters of religion." She adverted to "the sudden conversion of the late duke [of Northumberland], saying, 'Who would have thought he would have so done?' It was answered her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.' She replied, 'Who can judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men? Like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter: I pray God that neither I, nor any friend of mine, die so. Should I, who am young, and in the flower

of my years, forsake my faith for love of life? Nay, God forbid. Much more he should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued.' ”

The Lady Jane found Ridley and Latimer, as well as Cranmer, the supporters of her perilous elevation. Their preaching in favour of her sovereignty, the council of Mary considered as sufficient ground for sending them to prison ; whence they were led to be questioned, we shall presently find, not for that offence, but upon a charge of heresy, in order that they might be brought to the stake. Ridley's committal had preceded that of Cranmer several weeks. Bradford, another of the Marian martyrs, had been soon after him conducted to the same confinement ; and Latimer, who was summoned from the country, five days after Cranmer. With other victims this prison was soon crowded ; and the four arrested Protestants, to each of whom, at the first, a separate apartment was allotted, were now placed together in a single room. Latimer forbore not to remind the queen's commissioners at Oxford of the circumstance, as productive of consolation, though apparently intended as a slight, to them. “ Mr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury,” said he, “ Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, that holy man Mr. Bradford, and I, old Hugh Latimer, were imprisoned in the Tower of London for Christ's Gospel preaching ; and for because we would not go a-massing, every one in close prison from other, the same Tower being so full of other prisoners, we four were thrust into one chamber, as men not to be accounted of. But, God be thanked, to our great joy and comfort, there did we together read over the New Testament with great deliberation and painful study ; and I assure you, as I will answer before the tribunal of God's Majesty, we could find in the Testament, of Christ's body and blood none other presence but a spiritual presence, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But in that Heavenly Book it appeared that the sacrifice which Christ Jesus our Redeemer did upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good ; that God the Heavenly Father did require none other, nor that ever again to be done.”

Gardiner had now succeeded the Duke of Northumberland as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Two days only had passed since this exaltation, when Mary directed him to revive, among the students of Cambridge, the ancient worship and ceremonies, "wishing the examples," of her intention to abrogate the religion established by Edward, "first to begin in the Universities." Three days afterwards the kingdom also beheld Gardiner its chancellor. To him was granted in the following week a commission to license, under the great seal, such preachers only as he should judge of sufficient gravity and discretion to promote the views of his sovereign and himself. The Reformed clergy were thus to be silenced. By Gardiner they could not expect their ministry to be tolerated. Many of them, therefore, read to their congregations the Common Prayer only, which as yet was not prohibited; others gave instruction in private conferences; and some considered themselves still at liberty by law, as well as obliged in conscience, to continue their public discourses. The authority of Gardiner was considered to be thus disobeyed. Several distinguished prelates and clergy were accordingly cited to appear before the council. Hooper, afterwards the martyr, was immediately committed to the Fleet prison. Coverdale was long detained, but soon deprived of the see of Exeter. And Latimer, we have seen, was sent, as soon as he had reached London, to the Tower. By the Reformers, safety was now to be sought in flight. Strype reckons the ecclesiastical emigrants to have been eight hundred; those of rank, (among whom was the Duchess of Suffolk, the queen's cousin,) merchants, tradesmen, and others, many hundreds. They betook themselves chiefly to Frankfort, Embden, Zurich, Antwerp, Strasbourg, and Geneva. Foreign Protestants, that were now in England, were suffered quietly to depart. Peter Martyr, however, the friend of Cranmer, yet lingered in London, after the archbishop had been imprisoned, under the deepest anxiety for the issue. When Edward died, the learned Florentine had been immediately confined to his house in Oxford; but was soon permitted to visit London, having relinquished his professorship. Upon his departure from the University,

"many scholars left it, and went beyond the seas." Himself repaired to Lambeth Palace, where he found the sanctuary only of a few days. The fate of his patron had nearly been his own. It was long argued by Mary's council, whether, as he had written and acted so vigorously against the doctrines of the Church of Rome, it were fit that he should be proceeded against as a heretic. But it was determined, that as he came to England upon public encouragement, and under public protection, he was at liberty to depart with his family. His wife had died at Oxford not long before he left it, and was buried in the cathedral of Christ Church; yet, ere the reign of Mary closed, her remains, as being those of a pretended heretic, were disinterred and thrown upon a dunghill, but again were honourably consigned to the tomb which had been violated, by the direction of Archbishop Parker, when Elizabeth was queen. Ochin is said to have accompanied Martyr in quitting our shores. John à Lasco had departed before them. Their congregations were now also commanded to leave the country; and England thus lost in them many ingenious artists. Martyr no sooner arrived at Strasbourg in November, than he informed Calvin of the state in which he had left England, and of the imprisonment of Cranmer, Hooper, Coverdale, and others; of the weakness with which some had conformed to the altered state; of the constancy with which far more than he could have thought had withstood it; of his consequent belief that numerous would be the martyrs, if Gardiner might have his will; and of the general opinion that the present calamity would not be long. He wrote soon afterwards to Bullinger, and told him that many English youths from our two Universities were now at Strasbourg, the expense of whose studies was paid by the pious merchants of the place, under the hope that, on the revival of Protestantism in England, the Church might then be served by their acquirements.

XII.

CRANMER'S REMOVAL TO OXFORD—DISPUTATION THERE—
HESITATION OF THE COUNCIL AS TO FURTHER
PROCEEDINGS—FINAL TRIAL.

A.D. 1554—1555.

SIX months had now passed, and matters appeared to be ripened for some definitive measures with reference to the disposal of the deprived bishops. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, 1554, the lieutenant of the Tower was directed "to deliver to Sir John Williams the bodies of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, to be by him conveyed to Oxford." Foxe relates, that it was about the 10th of April when these venerable prisoners arrived at Windsor, on their way to the University. It was on the 14th of that month when they were led from the common prison in Oxford, called Bocardo, to meet their opponents in the church of St. Mary. To the prisoners on that day were submitted the questions that were to be agitated ; which were these :—

I. Whether the natural body of Christ was really in the sacrament ?

II. Whether any other substance did remain, after the words of consecration, than the body of Christ ?

III. Whether in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead and living ?

Cranmer had already given the negative to all these propositions in his book on the Lord's Supper. He was now required to abandon what he had asserted, and to return to the unity of the Church. The advantages of

unity he acknowledged, if the unity professed was in agreement with the words of Christ. Pondering a moment on the propositions before him, he asked whether by a natural body they meant an organical sensible body? They replied, the same that was born of the Virgin. He directly denied it; and asserting the other questions also to be in opposition to the Scriptures, declined admission to the proffered concord. The prolocutor then required him to draw up a written opinion upon all the points, and on the 16th to be ready personally to answer the maintainers of them, and till then remanded him to his confinement.

To Ridley was assigned the seventeenth day of the month, and to Latimer the following day, for their share in the contest. Throughout it the three champions of the Reformation were not only often interrupted by rude clamours, not only scoffed at and reviled, but distracted by various opponents, all urging and demanding answer at the same time. "Yet they forced their adversaries to admire them. Cranmer did learnedly; and, according to the dignity wherein he so many years had flourished, gravely: Ridley, acutely and readily: Latimer, with a pleasant tartness, and more solidly than could be expected of a man so near the age of fourscore." It has been, however, said of Cranmer, on this occasion, by Dr. Lingard, that "he was severely pressed with passages from the Fathers;" as Gilpin had ventured, many years before, to say of Ridley as well as the archbishop; unjustly lowering them in their defence to the character only of schoolmen; pronouncing that of Cranmer also to have been noways extraordinary, and that his modesty seemed to have been overawed by his audience. But, apparently, neither Gilpin nor Dr. Lingard, had carefully perused the long account which Foxe has preserved of Cranmer's disputation. Instead of being "severely pressed" by his opponents "with passages from the Fathers," it was his easy task, it was to his honour, it was to their shame, that in their citations of such authorities he convicted them repeatedly of blunders that depreciated their learning, of falsehoods that disgraced their honesty. Oglethorpe had no sooner commenced his argument, than Cranmer bade him mend his incorrect

Latin. The prolocutor, attempting to falsify a sentence in Chrysostom, was checked by the archbishop, who told him that he never heard so vain an inference as that which he drew from the passage ; and, while exposing to the people the misinterpretation of the eloquent Father, Cranmer was answered only at the instigation of the prolocutor, and by the signal of his outstretched hand, with hisses and clamour. Again, when his opponent, in return, charged him also with altering a word in Hilary, and that opponent appealed to Dr. Smith, the well-known enemy of Cranmer, for the truth of what he alleged, that enemy was astonished at the ignorant appeal, and was silent. Cranmer, with his usual meekness, replied, that he had not with him the book, which at once would prove or deny the charge. After the disputation one of his academical auditors, however, incensed at the malicious proceeding, carried to him in the prison "a book to show that he was right concerning the aforesaid matter." The generous student was seized by the bailiffs, carried to the prolocutor and his colleagues, and for his pains was himself imprisoned. Yet once more : Bishop Jewell, who had been one of the notaries on the present occasion, in his controversy afterwards with Hardinge, reminds him of Cranmer then citing an authority from Theodoret, which, because it was decisive against his opponents, was utterly refused. Was such a man likely to be overcome in discussions, of which the Fathers were the topic ? Let Cranmer himself tell us how he was used, and we shall then better judge of the controversy and its issue. Thus he wrote to the lords of the council :—

"In right humble wise sheweth unto your honourable lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord, king Edward VI., and what I spake against the same ; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify to your lordships that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against

me, Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament. First, of the real presence. Secondly, of transubstantiation. And, thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday against me; upon Tuesday against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday against Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered I know not; for we were separated: so that none of us knoweth what the other said; nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me. But the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like: every man bringing forth what he liked, without order: and such haste was made that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scantily be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us; being required by me thereunto. Whereas I myself have more to say than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, or that they were not able to answer us? Or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us: that it must be done in post haste, before the matters could be thoroughly heard. For in all haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify to your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters: leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily, unto God, for the long preservation of your good lordships in all godliness and felicity. April 23, [1554.]”

It was on the 20th of April that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer “were condemned of heresy.” It was then that

Weston contemptuously said to Cranmer, he had been overcome in disputation. "Not so," replied the archbishop, "for I was not suffered to oppose as I would, nor could answer as I required, unless with four or five at once continually interrupting me I would, like them, have 'brawled.'" The sentence of condemnation was now read. From this judgment Cranmer then appealed to the Almighty Power only: we have just seen him appealing also to an earthly one. To the Bocardo prison he was immediately re-conducted, while Latimer and Ridley were consigned, at present, to the houses of Oxford citizens. On the following day the mass, with a general procession, was celebrated. Cranmer, from the darker abode of his prison, was insultingly summoned to behold it; and from the house in which he was lodged, in like manner, was brought the venerable Latimer, who, supposing that to the stake he was now to be led, but finding that he was only to witness a ceremony that he abhorred, hid his face from the passing pomp.

The Oxford disputations had no sooner closed, than similar proceedings at Cambridge were meditated. With the ignorance and ridiculous conduct of Weston the prolocutor, with the insults instead of arguments to which the adversaries of Cranmer in general had recourse, the sister University was now to be amused; while Hooper, Bradford, Taylor, Philpot, and other learned Protestants, all whose names are enrolled among the Marian martyrs, were designed, as they expressed it, to be "baited." Of this project, as well as of the disgraceful treatment of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, Hooper had heard. He therefore advised his fellow-prisoners not to agree to any other than a disputation in writing, except before the queen and her council, or before either of the houses of parliament. They might then be fairly heard. "On the other hand our adversaries," said he, "would at Cambridge so determine the matter beforehand, after the Oxford example, as to cry out victory, when 'false allegations, mocks, and taunts,' would warrant no other exclamation than vanity." It is not only in Cranmer's own letter, it is not only in Foxe's account, it is in the contemporary powerful narrative also of Laurence Humphry, afterwards president of Magdalen College,

Oxford, that we find a detail of these mockeries in disputation that had induced Hooper to protest against a repetition of them. The protestation accordingly of himself, and of those whom he addressed, put a stop to the intension of the oral debate at Cambridge.

The sentence upon the silenced prisoners at Oxford remained to be confirmed by Mary and her council. On the 3d of May "it was ordered by the lords of the council, that the mayor of Oxford should bring in his bill of allowances for the charges of Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, and should have a warrant for the same; and further, it was resolved by their lordships that the judges and the queen's counsel learned should be called together, and their opinions demanded what they think in law her highness may do touching the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; being already, by both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, judged to be obstinate heretics; which matter is the rather to be consulted upon, for that the said Cranmer is already attainted."

The hesitation, thus evinced, continued many months. Meantime the prisoners were deprived of their own servants, and by those who attended them appear to have been little regarded. "The manner of [our] entreating," said Ridley, "doth change, as sour ale in summer." Sometimes they were prohibited from communicating with each other; sometimes were charged with absurd attempts to escape from their confinement. By no friendly visits of the academics were they consoled. By the townsmen of Oxford, however, as by many persons also in the metropolis, they were supplied with various necessities; yet money, which had been sent for their use, appears to have been embezzled. The government did indeed order for them both food and raiment, although, to its shame, they who obeyed the order appear to have sought in vain from that government the payment of what they had expended in consequence of it.

But towards the close of 1554, Pole, the legate of the papal see, had reached this country, in order to reunite the Church of England with that of Rome. The palace of

which Cranmer had been dispossessed, was prepared for his residence. The distinction of supreme head now no longer accompanied the regal title ; and the power of the pontiff would again have here been absolute, if he had been able to withhold his assurance of the abbey lands to the new owners, the lords and gentlemen by whom they had been obtained. Even the Roman Catholic prelates and clergy petitioned that he would not insist on a restitution of these revenues. But lest he might, an act of parliament was passed, which gave to the present proprietors the security they required ; while, in return, the pontiff, although most essentially weakened by the alienation of that wealth on which his power so much depended, was reinstated in his supremacy.

The new year opened to Cranmer and his fellow-prisoners with no alleviation of their melancholy state. Nearly nine months had passed when the condemnation, which Weston had pronounced upon them, was considered necessary to be repeated by commissioners, who should derive their authority from Rome. When Weston was their judge that authority had not been received in England : nor by any law then in force was his sentence justifiable. By the legate, therefore, a commission was issued to examine, absolve, or degrade, or deliver to the secular arm, Latimer and Ridley. In regard to Cranmer, another was sent by the pope himself. To Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, on this occasion the delegate of the Cardinal *de Puteo*, who was the principal commissioner, named by the pontiff for the sake of form, and to the civilians Martin and Story, who were the royal proctors, was deputed the cognizance of the crimes alleged against the archbishop. On the 9th of September they opened their commission in the church of St. Mary at Oxford, and settled other preliminaries as to the proceeding. It was not till the 12th that all things were ready for the renovated trial. Brookes then was seated on a lofty scaffold, erected over the high altar ; beneath him were the proctors, with other civilians ; and around them a numerous auditory. From his prison, guarded, Cranmer then was introduced. His dress was that of a black gown, with his doctor's hood over it. His

head was as yet covered. Nor, when he saw the papal representative on his throne, did he "vail his bonnet," but stood silent till the charge against him was proclaimed, which was, "Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to that which shall be laid to thy charge ; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontineny, and heresy ; and make answer here to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person."

Being now brought nearer to the scaffold, and observing the regal proctors, to them, as the representatives of the sovereign, he respectfully bowed, and pulled off his cap. To Brookes he still refused this tribute ; when the mitred commissioner, resenting the slight, told him it might beseem him well, considering the authority that was represented, not to withhold from him the same courteous acknowledgment. The archbishop answered, that once he had taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the readmission into the realm of England of the papal authority ; that still he would keep that oath ; and that, therefore, no sign or token which might argue his consent to receiving the same would he give. Not for any contempt of the commissioner's person, he continued, did he thus act ; for if his commission had been regal like that of the proctors, instead of papal, he would not have failed immediately to respect it.

Brookes then addressed him in a long speech, no less distinguished by absurdity than by abuse, in which he reminded him of the charges proclaimed against him ; urged him to repent of his apostasy ; bade him consider in his own case the tender mercies of the queen, pretending that yet she spared him under the hope of amendment ; and condescended to be the first of those treacherous advisers, who, in order to make him "unsay what he had said," resorted to the artifices by which the poor archbishop was afterwards overcome ; saying,—“As for the loss of your estimation, it is ten to one that when you were archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan of England—it is ten to one, I say, that you shall be as well still, yea, and rather better.”

The proctor Martin followed the delegate in an oration, condensing the insolence of the latter into a smaller com-

pass : after which he exhibited the instrument that empowered him and Story to act as the royal proctors, as well as the articles of accusation against the prisoner. His oration being ended, the archbishop said,—“ Shall I now make my answer ?” Martin replied,—“ As you think good : no man shall hinder you.”

The archbishop then kneeling down, said first the Lord's prayer : then, rising up, recited the articles of the Creed ; and afterwards thus declared his protestation against the proceedings.

Cranmer. “ This I do profess as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the Bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm.”

Story. “ Take a note thereof.”

Martin. “ Mark, Dr. Cranmer, how you answer for yourself. You refuse and deny him, by whose laws you do remain in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the laws of this realm.”

Cranmer. “ I protest before God I was no traitor ; but, indeed, I confessed more at my arraignment than was true.”

Martin. “ That is not to be reasoned at this present. You know you were condemned for a traitor, and *res judicata pro veritate accipitur*. But proceed to your matter.”

Cranmer. “ My lord,” addressing the Bishop of Gloucester, “ you have very learnedly and eloquently in your oration put me in remembrance of many things touching myself, wherein I do not mean to spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge God's goodness to me in all His gifts, and thank Him as heartily for this state wherein I find myself now as ever I did for the time of my prosperity ; and it is not the loss of my promotions that grieveth me. The greatest grief I have at this time, and one of the greatest that ever I had in all my life, is, to see the king and queen's majesties by their proctors here to become my accusers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. If I have transgressed the laws of the land, their majesties have sufficient authority and

power, both from God and by the ordinance of this realm, to punish me, whereunto I both have been, and at all time shall be, content to submit myself.

“Alas, what has the pope to do in England, whose jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of this realm, that it is impossible to be true to the one and true to the other? The laws also are so diverse, that whosoever sweareth to both, must needs incur perjury to the one; which, as oft as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her grace, I cannot but be heartily sorry to think upon it, how that her highness, the day of her coronation, at which time she took a solemn oath to observe all the laws and liberties of this realm of England; at the same time, also, took an oath to the Bishop of Rome, and promised to maintain that see. The state of England being so repugnant to the supremacy of the pope, it is impossible but she must needs be forsworn to the one; wherein, if her grace had been faithfully advertised by her council, then, surely, she would never have done it.

“The laws of this realm are, that the king of England is the supreme and sole governor of all his countries and dominions, and that he holdeth his crown and sceptre of himself, by the ancient laws, customs, and descents of the kings of the realm, and of none other. The pope saith, that all emperors and kings hold their crowns and regalities of him, and that he may depose them when he list; which is high treason for any man to affirm or think, being born within the king's dominions.

“The laws of England are, that all bishops and priests offending, in cases of felony or treason, are to be judged and tried by the laws and customs of the realm. The pope's laws are, that the secular power cannot judge the spiritual power, and that they are not under their jurisdiction; which robeth the king of the one part of his people.

“The laws also of England are, that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England for any other foreign laws, ecclesiastical or temporal, incurreth the danger of a *præmunire*. The pope's laws are, that whosoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his laws for any other laws of any other king or country, both the prince

himself, his council, all his officers, scribes, clerks, and who-soever give consent or aid to the making or executing of any such laws, stand accursed. A heavy case, if his curse were anything worth, that the king and queen cannot use their own laws, but they and all theirs must stand accursed.

"And as for the matter of heresy and schism, wherewith I am charged, I protest and call God to witness, that I know none that I have maintained. But if that were a heresy to deny the pope's authority, and the religion which the see of Rome hath published to the world these latter years, then all the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church, the Apostles, and Christ himself, taught heresy; and I desire all present to bear me witness, that I take the traditions and religion of that usurping prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole Scripture; which oftentimes I have well proved by writing, and the author of the same to be very Antichrist, so often preached of by the apostles and prophets, in whom did most evidently concur all signs and tokens whereby he was pointed out to the world to be known."

The archbishop then exposed other arrogant pretensions of the pontiff, not without alluding to his own unjustly condemned opinion as to the doctrine of the sacrament of the altar; "for if it can be proved," said he, "by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors against it." He concluded this uninterrupted defence, by expressing his hope, that the king and queen, if they were rightly informed, would do well. This observation awakened the zeal of Martin.

Martin. "As you understand then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too?"

Cranmer. "I desire you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths do stand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory saith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the Universal Church, is worse than the Antichrist. If any man can show me, that it is not against God's word to hold his stirrup when he taketh his horse, or kiss his feet, as kings do, then I will kiss his feet also."

And you, for your part, my lord, are perjured ; for now you sit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishopric of the king. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm ; for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm."

Bp. of Gloucester. "You were the cause that I did forsake the pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave it to king Henry the Eighth, that he ought to be it : and this you made me to do."

Cranmer. "To this I answer, you report me ill, and say not the truth ; and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessor, Archbishop Warham, gave the supremacy to king Henry the Eighth, and said that he ought to have it before the Bishop of Rome, and that God's word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the supremacy ; and it was reasoned upon, and argued, at length. So at the last both Universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to king Henry, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. You were then doctor of divinity, and your consent was thereunto, as your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope ; but it was yourself. All this was in Bishop Warham's time, and whilst he was alive ; so that it was three quarters of a year after, ere I had the archbishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do anything. So that here you have reported of me that which you cannot prove ; which is evil done."

The self-convicted judge could only meanly reply : "We come to examine you ; and you, methink, examine us."

After Story had next interposed an oration in behalf of the papal supremacy, Martin again addressed the archbishop ; whose words, together with the replies to them, Foxe resolved not to overpass, although the Romish reporter employed to note them had been extremely partial, omitting nothing that might promote the object of the accuser, but much that was favourable to that of the accused. Such as the dialogue was, even thus unfairly

described, it is too important not to be copied. The proctor Martin opens it.

"Master Cranmer, you have told here a long, glorious tale, pretending some matter of consequence in appearance, but in verity you have no conscience at all. You say that you have sworn once unto king Henry the Eighth against the pope's jurisdiction, and, therefore, you may never forswear the same; and so you make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the said oath. Here will I ask you a question or two. What if you made an oath to a harlot to live with her in continual adultery, ought you to keep it?"

Cranmer. "I think not."

Martin. "What if you did swear never to lend a poor man one penny, ought you to keep it?"

Cranmer. "I think not."

Martin. "Herod did swear whatsoever his harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptist's head. Did he well in keeping his oath?"

Cranmer. "I think not."

Martin. "Jephthah, one of the judges of Israel, did swear unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he would offer unto God the first soul that came forth of his house. It happened, that his own daughter came first; and he slew her to save his oath. Did he well?"

Cranmer. "I think not."

Martin. "So saith St. Ambrose, *De Officiis*: It is a miserable necessity, which is paid with parricide. Then, Master Cranmer, you can no less confess, by the premises, but that you ought not to have conscience of every oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advisedly taken."

Cranmer. "So was that oath."

Martin. "That is not so. For, first, it was unjust; for it tended to the taking away of another man's right. It was not lawful; for the laws of God and the Church are against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every man and woman were compelled to take it."

Cranmer. "It pleaseth you to say so."

Martin. "Let all the world be judge. But, Sir, you

that pretend to have such a conscience to break an oath, I pray you did you never swear and break the same ?”

Cranmer. “I remember not.”

Martin. “I will help your memory. Did you never swear obedience to the see of Rome ?”

Cranmer. “Indeed I did once swear unto the same.”

Martin. “Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be shown.”

Cranmer. “But, I remember, I saved all by protestation that I made by the counsel of the best-learned men I could get at that time.”

Martin. “Hearken, good people, what this man saith. He made a protestation, one day, to keep never a whit of that which he would swear the next day. Was this the part of a Christian man ? If a Christian man would bargain with a Turk, and, before he maketh his bargain, solemnly before witness readeth in his paper that he holdeth secretly in his hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatsoever he shall promise to the Turk ; I say, if a Christian man would serve a Turk in this manner, that the Christian man were worse than the Turk. What would you then say to this man, that made a solemn oath and promise unto God and His Church, and made protestation before quite contrary ?”

Cranmer. “That which I did, I did by the best-learned men’s advice I could get at that time.”

Martin. “I protest before all the learned men here, that there is no learning will save your perjury herein. For there be two rules of the civil law against you :” (which he produced, and then turning to the audience said :) “But will you have the truth of the matter ? King Henry even then meant the lamentable change, which after you see came to pass ; and to further his pitiful proceedings, from the divorcement of his most lawful wife to the detestable departing from the blessed unity of Christ’s Church, this man made the foresaid protestation ; and, on the other side, he letted not to make two solemn oaths quite contrary, and why ? For otherwise, by the laws and canons of this realm, he could not aspire to the archbishopric of Canterbury.”

Cranmer. "I protest before you all, there was never man came more unwilling to a bishopric, than I did to that. Insomuch that, when king Henry did send for me in post that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the meantime."

Martin. "You declare well by the way, that the king took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not find within all his realm any men that would set forth his strange attempts, but was enforced to send for you in post to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being then queen Anne (Boleyn's) chaplain, and the king: Give me the archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you license to live in adultery?"

Cranmer. "You say not true."

Martin. "Let your protestation, joined with the rest of your talk, give judgment. *Hinc prima mali lates.* Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefully-suffered adultery, came heresy and all mischief to this realm. And thus have I spoken as touching the conscience you make for breaking your heretical oath to the king. But to break your former oath, made at two sundry times both to God and His Church, you have no conscience at all. And now to answer another part of your oration, wherein you bring in God's word that you have it on your side, and no man else, and that the pope hath devised a new scripture contrary to the Scriptures of God; you play herein as the Pharisees did, which cried always, *Verbum Domini, Verbum Domini*, (the Word of the Lord, the Word of the Lord,) when they meant nothing so. This bettereth not your cause, because you say you have God's word for you; for so Basilides and Photinus the heretics said, that they had God's word to maintain their heresy. So Nestorius, so Macedonius, so Pelagius, and, briefly, all the heretics that ever were, pretended that they had God's word for them; yea, and so the devil, being the father of heresies, alleged God's word for himself, saying, *Scriptum est*, (It is written.) So said he to Christ, *Mitte te deorsum*, (Cast thyself downward,) which you applied most falsely against the

pope. But if you mark the devil's language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truly. For *Mitte te deorsum*, (Cast thyself downward,) said he, and so taught you to cast all things downward; down with the sacrament, down with the mass, down with the altars, down with the arms of Christ, and up with a lion and a dog; down with the abbeyes, down with chantries, down with hospitals and colleges, down with fasting and prayer, yea, down with all that good and godly is. All your proceeding, and preachings, tended to no other but to fulfil the devil's request, *Mitte te deorsum*. And therefore tell us not that you have God's word. I would here ask but one question of you: Whether God's word be contrary to itself, or no? For you, Master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretend in every one *Verbum Domini*."

Cranmer. "Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the same."

Martin. "What doctrine taught you, when you condemned Lambert the Sacramentary in the king's presence in Whitehall?"

Cranmer. "I maintained then the papists' doctrine."

Martin. "That is to say, the catholic and universal doctrine of Christ's Church. And how, when king Henry died? Did you not translate Justus Jonas' book?"

Cranmer. "I did so."

Martin. "Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament, by the same token that you sent to Lynne your printer, that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christ's body really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a *not*, whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the sacrament."

Cranmer. "I remember there were two printers of my said book, but where the same *not* was put in I cannot tell."

Martin. "Then from a Lutheran you became a Zuinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the mystery of the sacrament; and for the same heresy you did help to burn

Lambert the Sacramentary, which you now call the Catholic faith and God's word."

Cranmer. "I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now; and so I did until my lord of London, Dr. Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion."

Martin. "Now, sir, as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the pope's holiness was the supreme head of the Church of Christ."

Cranmer. "I did so."

Martin. "Who, say you then, is supreme head?"

Cranmer. "Christ."

Martin. "But whom hath Christ left here on earth his vicar and head of his Church?"

Cranmer. "Nobody."

Martin. "Ah, why told you not king Henry this when you made him supreme head, and now nobody is? This is treason against his own person, as you then made him."

Cranmer. "I mean not but every king in his own realm and dominion is supreme head; and so was he supreme head of the Church of Christ in England."

Martin. "Is this always true? And was it ever so in Christ's Church?"

Cranmer. "It was."

Martin. "Then what say you by Nero? He was the mightiest prince of the earth after Christ was ascended. Was he head of Christ's Church?"

Cranmer. "Nero was Peter's head."

Martin. "I ask whether Nero was head of the Church or no? If he were not, it is false that you said before that all princes be, and ever were, heads of the Church within their realms."

Cranmer. "Nay, it is true. For Nero was head of the Church, that is, in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the Church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter and the Apostles. And the Turk too is head of the Church in Turkey."

Martin. "Then he that beheaded the heads of the Church, and crucified the Apostles, was head of Christ's Church; and he, that was never member of the Church, is

head of the Church by your new-found understanding of God's word."

The impatience of the archbishop's adversaries, vexed as they must have been by some of his replies, now appears to have immediately demanded from him an answer to the formal interrogatories articulated against him. By the Romish reporter, as Foxe has copied them, these questions, together with the answers to them, were preserved, as they were delivered, in our own language. The official account of them to the Cardinal *de Puteo* is in Latin; agreeing, in substance, with what the martyrologist has printed. The articles are in number sixteen :—

I. First it was objected, that he, being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black, or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

Ans. Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called Black or Brown, he knew not, but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

II. That after the death of the foresaid wife he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishop by the pope.

Ans. He received, he said, a certain bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was [made] archbishop by him.

III. That he, being in holy orders, married another woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so was twice married.

Ans. This he granted.

IV. In the time of king Henry he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

Ans. This he also granted; affirming, that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

V. In the time of king Edward he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

Ans. He denied not but so he did, and lawfully might

do the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

VI. That he shamed not openly to glory himself to have had his wife in secret many years.

Ans. And though he did so, he said, there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

VII. That, falling afterwards into the deep bottom of errors, he did fly and accuse the authority of the Church ; did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar ; and also did compile, and cause so be set abroad, divers books.

Ans. When the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not such books of which he was the true author. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the same. As for the Catechism, the book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

VIII. That he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same Articles.

Ans. He exhorted, he said, such as were willing to subscribe ; but against their wills he compelled none.

IX. Forasmuch as he surceased not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament there should be holden.

Ans. To this he said, that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

X. That in the said city of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresy, and there was convicted upon the same.

Ans. He defended, he said, there the cause of the sacrament ; but to be convicted in the same, that he denied.

XI. When he persevered still in the same, he was by the public censure of the University pronounced a heretic, and his books to be heretical.

Ans. That he was so denounced, he denied not ; but that he was a heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

XII. That he was, and is, notoriously infamed with the

note of schism, as [one] who not only himself receded from the Catholic Church and see of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of the realm to the same.

Ans. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing, said he, was only from the see of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schism.

XIII. That he had been twice sworn to the pope; (and Dr. Martin then brought out the instrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his protestation, made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had anything else protested.)

Ans. Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

XIV. That he did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the authority of the see of Rome, in that without leave or license from the said see he consecrated bishops and priests.

Ans. He granted that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

XV. That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he only still persisted in his error.

Ans. That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true: but that he erred in the same, that he denied.

XVI. That all and singular the premises are true.

Ans. That, likewise, he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

The proctor Martin had procured eight witnesses to maintain the truth of these articles. But before their depositions were given, other questions appear to have been urged, which drew from the archbishop a repetition of his unwillingness to accept the see of Canterbury, and, when the king had overruled it, of his determination not to receive the honour from the pontiff's hand; of his having made the protestation, which the king's civilians had recommended, against the papal authority, and of having

caused that public act to be enrolled in his archiepiscopal register.

The witnesses were then examined,—a perfectly useless formality. The contradictions in some of their depositions the archbishop forebore to censure, and the session closed. Nor was it re-opened till after the sentence against him was received from Rome. “The provisions of the canon law,” Dr. Lingard says, “were scrupulously observed; Cranmer underwent two examinations, and was then served, as a matter of form, with a citation to answer before the pontiff in the course of eighty days: he owed this distinction to his dignity of archbishop, and to his ordination, which had been performed according to the ancient pontifical.” The reader will be at no loss to appreciate the distinction, and this narrative of the scrupulous bestowal of it, when he perceives that notwithstanding the archbishop professed his readiness to go to Rome, it had been resolved that he should never more behold any other city than that in which he was confined.

On the subject of this citation to Rome, Cranmer immediately addressed a long letter to the queen, in which he thus describes the pope:—

“And thus he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were a god, and nameth himself God’s vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play Antichrist’s part, I cannot tell what is Antichrist, which is no more to say but Christ’s enemy and adversary, who shall sit in the temple of God, advancing himself above all other, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion shall subvert the true religion of Christ, and under pretence and colour of Christian religion shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of Antichrist. Now if any man lift himself higher than the pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the world; or can be more adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God’s laws, and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man must needs be taken for Antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.

“Wherefore, seeing the pope thus (to overthrow both

God's laws and man's laws) taketh upon him to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects unto him, and specially the crown of this realm, with the laws and customs of the same ; I see no mean how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's law, mine allegiance and duty to your majesty, and my love and affection to this realm."

Another letter, of which a fragment only remains, has a special bearing on this point of the archbishop's case, for it intrepidly requests of her majesty to ponder well the terms of her oath to the pope, and to consider whether they could be reconciled with the language of her oath to the kingdom, taken on the day of her coronation. It therefore repeats, as it were, to her majesty's face, what he had publicly intimated in his examination before Brookes ; namely, that she must needs be forsworn either to the Bishop of Rome or to the state of England. It concludes by protesting, that if her majesty would permit him, he would appear at Rome in person, conformably to the canonical citation, trusting that God would enable him to defend the truth there as honestly as he had defended it in his own country.

" These two papers," observes Mr. Le Bas, " were addressed by Cranmer, when he was under sentence of death, to one who had notoriously closed the gates of mercy against him. He must have known that he was regarded by the queen as the instrument of her sainted mother's degradation, as a conspirator against her own title to the crown of England, as an apostate from the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and as a traitor to the apostolic authority of its head. He must, in short, have been conscious that he was in the very jaws of destruction. And yet, in this fatal extremity, he suffers not one syllable of deprecation to escape him. Unwilling as he had been to die under the imputation of treason, he was well content to suffer for the truth of God ; and, accordingly, presents to his exasperated and implacable sovereign a firm but respectful vindication of the principles which she abhorred. And this, too, he did, at a time when the fires of persecution were

blazing throughout the land, and when his two most honoured associates were in readiness to be offered up. These letters, therefore, are invaluable, as monuments of his hitherto immovable fidelity to the cause of the Reformation.

"The office of answering these addresses was consigned by her majesty to Cardinal Pole. His performance, in obedience to the mandate, is dated November the 6th; and, on one account, it is quite as interesting as the letters to which it replies; for it proves, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that, up to that period likewise, the fortitude of Cranmer remained wholly unshaken. It speaks of him throughout as an incurably blind and pertinacious heretic; charges him with covetousness and ambition, with deliberate malice, abject ignorance, and gross perjury; and declares, that if he is not plucked out of the lion's mouth, he must inevitably be undone both in body and in soul. Language like this could only be addressed to one whose courage had, to that hour, withstood every assault. It would, therefore, be most injurious to doubt, that if Cranmer had been called to suffer at the same time with Latimer and Ridley, and before his powers of resistance had been undermined by temptation and artifice, he would then, like them, have poured out his soul unto death with the heroism of a Christian martyr."

A report of the last proceedings against the archbishop had been despatched to Rome immediately on their termination. On the 29th of November, the eighty days appointed for his appearance had elapsed. On the 4th of December, at the instance of the Cardinal *de Puteo*, he was sentenced to excommunication and deprived of the archbishopric; and on the 11th of the same month, the administration of the see of Canterbury was conferred on Cardinal Pole. The final executory letter of the pope was dated on the 14th of December. In faithful conformity with the canonical fiction adverted to above, this document affirms, that having been cited to Rome, "he took no care to appear;" and by this neglect had incurred the guilt of contumacy. It then proceeded to declare (much in the same spirit of fiction), that "he, Pope Paul IVth, sitting in the throne of justice, and having before his eyes God alone

who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness, did make his definitive sentence, decreeing the said Thomas Cranmer guilty of the crimes of heresy and of other enormities, and unmindful of his soul's health, and of the doctrines of the fathers, and traditions and usages of the Church, more especially in the matter of the Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood, respecting which he had introduced the perversions of those arch-heretics, Berengarius, Wicliff, and Luther. For these causes, he, the pope, declared him excommunicated, and commanded the Bishops of London and Ely (Bonner and Thirlby) first to degrade him from his archbishopric, and then to deliver him to the secular arm."

It was not till the 14th of February that this pontifical mandate was carried into execution. On that day the archbishop was summoned to appear before the two papal delegates in St. Mary's church. When he was brought into their presence, their commission was recited to him, in which it was specified that "all things had been indifferently examined on both parts, and counsel heard, as well on the behalf of their majesties, who were the accusers, as also on the behalf of the accused; so that he wanted nothing which was needful to his defence." Here was another fictitious statement of such enormous impudence, that it extorted an indignant exclamation from Cranmer, who, although he was a most accomplished canonist, appears to have been quite unable to comprehend the canonical scruples which dictated these insulting and mendacious formalities. It was notorious, he said, that he had been so closely imprisoned that it would have been utterly impossible for him to employ an advocate, even if his cause had been finally adjudged in his own country. How, then, was he to produce witnesses or appoint counsel to represent him at Rome? "God," he added, "must needs punish this open and shameless lying."

The process of degradation, nevertheless, commenced. A complete suit of episcopal habiliments was produced; but by way of mockery and derision, the whole was made either of canvas or of some other material equally worthless: and something which represented a crosier was placed

in his hand. The spirit of the archbishop was not one jot depressed by this scornful treatment. On the contrary, with light-hearted pleasantry, he exclaimed:—"What! I verily believe I shall say mass."—"Yea, my lord," said Cosins, one of Bonner's chaplains, "I trust to see you say mass yet, for all this."—"Do you so?" replied Cranmer; "nay, that shall you never see; for never will I do it." When Bonner beheld his victim before him in this insulting pontifical masquerade, he was unable to suppress his exultation; and, with his usual vulgar brutality, he cried out—"This is the man that despised the pope's holiness, and is now here to be judged by the pope. This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and is now come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar, to judge another, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself." The torrent of invective was here interrupted by Cranmer, who exclaimed—"In this you do belie me, as in many other things. You speak of the time when I sat in commission in Paul's church, where was a scaffold erected by you and by your officers; but that there was an altar under it, I neither knew nor suspected." Bonner, however, was not easily to be diverted from the pleasure of reviling. He continued to indulge himself in it till the audience were filled with weariness and disgust, and the form of degradation accordingly proceeded. In the first place, the crosier, the ensign of the pastoral office, was to be taken from his hand; but this the archbishop intrepidly resisted. He refused to part with it till he had drawn from his sleeve a written paper, which he handed up to Thirlby, desiring the bystanders to witness that he thereby solemnly appealed against these proceedings to the next general council. The reasons for this step, as specified in the document in question, were in substance as follows:—1. That in cases of life and death, a man should be allowed to plead in his own person, and not by a proctor; whereas, he was hindered by his strict imprisonment from appearing at Rome: and further, that

even if he would have sent his proctor, the sequestration of his property disabled him from engaging one.—2. That when he was cited to appear before the pope's sub-delegate, Bishop Brookes, he was denied the assistance of counsel for his defence.—3. That, in violation of their own express promise, the royal proctors had omitted to furnish him with copies of his answers to the charges preferred against him, and had thus denied him an opportunity of correcting them.—4 and 5. That he renounced altogether the papal jurisdiction, as utterly at variance with the constitution of his country; and, also, because it had been found most ruinously to drain away the resources of the realm.—6. That the authority of the pope is subversive both of the Holy Scriptures and of the decrees of general councils. He concluded by averring that "in all his doctrine and preaching, both on the sacrament and every other point, he meant and judged those things as the Catholic Church and the most holy fathers of old, with one accord, had meant and judged them." He further "desired the first, the second, and the third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that he might have letters of protection and defence, with choice and liberty to correct and interpret his sayings; and if this were granted, he promised to prosecute his appellation, with the view of disannulling abuse, iniquity, and unrighteousness."

When this paper was given to Thirlby, the latter replied that their commission was to proceed against him, "all appeal being taken away"—(in other words, that the pope had strictly prohibited all question of his own authority)—but added, that "he would, nevertheless, take care that the appeal should be received, if possible." The next step in the process of degradation was to strip off what was the semblance of the episcopal pall; and here the archbishop once more protested against the irregularity of the proceeding. "Who is there among you," he said, "that hath a pall, that he should take away my pall?"—implying that a metropolitan could not be degraded by prelates of inferior dignity. The objection, of course, was overruled. The commissioners answered that they acted, not merely as bishops, but as delegates of the pope, and were, therefore,

fully competent to the execution of his orders. The rest of the insulting ceremony was accordingly completed. A barber was at hand to clip off the hair round his head. Bonner then scraped the tips of the archbishop's fingers, to signify the removal of the holy ointment with which they had been touched at his consecration: and the pageantry was concluded by the exhibition of the Primate of all England in his doublet, over which was contemptuously thrown the threadbare gown of a yeoman bedel; while Bonner, unable to contain his exultation, exclaimed, "You are now no longer my lord;" and then, pointing to him, said to the spectators, "See here this gentleman!"

Cranmer was now remanded to his prison, having no other prospect remaining but his last removal, to the place of execution. His state of mind at this period is exhibited in one of the latest of his letters, which was discovered at Zurich in 1843, and first given to the world in the collections of the *Parker Society*. It was written in Latin to Peter Martyr, and we give the *Parker Society's* translation:—

"After much health in Christ our Saviour. As letters are then only necessary, when the messenger is either not sufficiently discreet, or is unacquainted with the circumstances we wish to communicate, or not thought worthy to be entrusted with secrets; and since by the goodness of God the bearer of this has fallen in my way, a man, as you know, of signal discretion, most faithful in all matters entrusted to him, exceedingly attached to us both, and possessing an entire acquaintance with the circumstances of our country, from whose mouth you may learn all that has taken place here; I have not thought it needful to write to you more at length, especially as letters are wont to occasion so much danger and mischief. Yet I have not deemed it right to pass over this one thing, which I have learned by experience, namely, that God never shines forth more brightly, and pours out the beams of his mercy and consolation, or of strength and firmness of spirit, more clearly or impressively upon the minds of his people, than when they are under the most extreme pain and distress, both of mind and body, that he may then more especially show himself

to be the God of his people, when he seems to have altogether forsaken them ; then raising them up when they think he is bringing them down and laying them low ; then glorifying them, when he is thought to be confounding them ; then quickening them, when he is thought to be destroying them. So that we may say with Paul, ‘ When I am weak, then am I strong ; and if I must needs glory, I will glory in my infirmities, in prisons, in revilings, in distresses, in persecutions, in sufferings for Christ.’ I pray God to grant that I may endure to the end ! Nothing is at this time more distressing to me, than that no answer has as yet been given to M. A., to whose subtilties, and juggling tricks, and ravings, a reply would not have been wanting long since, had not books and liberty been wanting to myself. I have written to no one but you, nor do I wish any one to know that I have written to you : wherefore salute no one in my name.

“ THOMAS CRANMER.”

“ This is in the hand-writing of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote it from prison to Master Peter Martyr. M. A. signifies Marcus Antonius, meaning the Bishop of Winchester. 1555.”

XIII.

LAST SCENES IN THE LIFE OF CRANMER—HIS FALL—
HIS DEATH—AND CHARACTER.

A.D. 1556.

CRANMER had now finished his career, and had witnessed a good confession. His death was determined upon, and his whole demeanour and language for months before showed that fear had no influence over him. His letters to the queen, both in 1553 and 1555, were those of a man who dreamed not of submission. So far from being in the tone of a courtier, they were plainly calculated to increase his sovereign's anger and obduracy. But his enemies now called to mind, that although uninfluenced by ambitious motives, and unswayed by fear, Cranmer had at various times yielded to *persuasion*. There was scarcely a false step in his whole career, which was not traceable to this weakness. His own narrative of the means by which his concurrence was obtained to king Edward's will, which we have already cited at page 186, explains this peculiar weakness of his character:—

"I ask mercy and pardon," he says, "for my heinous folly and offence in consenting to, and following, the testament and last will of our late sovereign lord, king Edward VI., your grace's brother; which, well God he knoweth, I never liked, nor anything grieved me so much that your grace's brother did. * * * * * But being the sentence of the judges, and other his learned counsel in the laws of this realm, methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my prince therein. And so at length I was required by the king's majesty himself to set my hand to his will; saying,

that he trusted, that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the council were. Which words surely grieved my heart very sore : and so I granted him to subscribe his will, and to follow the same."

This constitutional weakness was compounded of two ingredients : a naturally yielding disposition, and a settled principle of deference to authority. Both these infirmities were increased by another notion : that secular affairs were not in his province, and that it was his place to act merely officially, when called upon to do so by lawful authority. These points of the case may be ascertained by any one who chooses carefully to scrutinize the facts of the case ; and they suffice to make it quite clear, that it was not from personal apprehensions, or from courtier-like servility, that Cranmer yielded ; either now, or in his former blamable measures.

There were those now about Cranmer who understood his character, and they immediately began to aim at his moral as well as his physical destruction. The precise steps they employed we cannot now know. A document, containing the alleged "Submissions and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury," was put forth by Bonner ; but the character of that prelate was not such as to entitle it to *implicit* reliance. Still, of Cranmer's fall there remains no doubt. Bonner publishes a series of recantations, six in number,—a fact which proves at least the unceasing importunity with which the fallen primate was pressed.

Mr. Le Bas says, "By whose exertions the resolution of Cranmer was first unsettled, we are not informed. He is said to have received visits of courtesy and condolence from various distinguished members of the University, who expressed a lively interest in his fate. And it is far from unlikely that Thirlby, his former friend, may have repaired to him in prison, and have there renewed those solicitations, which he had tried in vain while sitting in judgment upon him. Of the four papers which, as we are told, he was prevailed upon to sign, the first was afterwards revoked by him. This revocation was ascribed by Bonner to his 'inconstancy and unstableness.' It was, much more probably,

the consequence of representations, that the first paper would be wholly insufficient to satisfy the government. The papers which followed it may have been successively extorted by similar artifices. The last of the four was, indeed, the least satisfactory. But yet it may have been transmitted to the court, as a proof that his firmness was not wholly unassailable. At all events, the more elaborate measures of seduction, resorted to subsequently to the 16th, are quite sufficient to show that the Romanists were dissatisfied with the success of their first attempts. The archbishop was invited by Dr. Marshall to the deanery of Christchurch, where he exchanged, for a time, the horrors of a dungeon for the society of learned men, and the liberal hospitality of collegiate life. He was allowed the recreation of his favourite game at bowls ; and in the midst of these indulgences he was plied with an insidious mixture of intimidation and encouragement. He was assured that he had the cordial good-will of the nobility ; he was flattered with the prospect of recovering his former dignity, or, if he should prefer it, of passing the remainder of his days in honourable privacy ; he was informed that nothing would gratify the queen so much as his submission ; but that nothing short of his submission would satisfy her, since she was resolved either to have Cranmer a Catholic, or else no Cranmer at all ; he was, finally, reminded that he still was lusty and strong, and might hope for many more years of health and comfort ; and that it would, therefore, be madness to persevere inflexibly in a course which must inevitably terminate in an agonizing and untimely death. His subscription to the words of 'one little leaf of paper,' it was suggested, might save him from this terrible extremity, and would open to him the hopes of a quiet and dignified old age. By these treacherous applications the desire of life was gradually revived within him ; and his sinking fortitude was probably overthrown by the arrival of the writ for his execution, which was dated on the 24th of February, and must have reached Oxford a day or two after. The result of all these perfidious practices, it has been supposed, was his subscription to a fifth paper, which undoubtedly contains as plenary an assent to Popery as

they who hungered and thirsted for his disgrace could possibly desire. This disastrously memorable document, be it remembered, was drawn up in Latin. It was printed immediately on its execution as Cranmer's recantation : and it is not the least mysterious of the strange circumstances connected with these transactions, that no sooner was the paper printed than it was suppressed by the council. The order for delivering up all the printed copies to be burned is dated on the 13th of March ; and on the 16th the printers were compelled to enter into recognizances to obey this mandate.

" This fifth submission, it should be observed, is without any date, either as to place or time. But it can hardly be doubted that, if ever it was signed by Cranmer, it must have been subsequently to his removal to Christchurch deanery ; though at what period during his residence there, or after his return to prison, it now seems impossible to ascertain. He had now, if we are to repose implicit confidence in the representations of his adversaries, declared his own unfaithfulness in language as express as even they could frame for him. But their rancour appears to have been still unsatiated. They were determined to enjoy, if possible, the vindictive delight of hearing him utter the basest notes of humiliation : for we find, among the papers ascribed to him, a sixth recantation, less distinct and explicit than the preceding, as a confession of the Romish faith ; but most abundant and diffuse in abject expressions of self-condemnation. It has been conjectured by Strype that this outrageous and almost bombastic string of self-accusations was the composition of Cardinal Pole. It certainly is very much in his style. He had drawn up, as the historian remarks, a form of recantation closely resembling it, for Sir John Cheke : and it has been suggested that the same train of thought and expression is to be found in a manuscript letter of Pole's to Cranmer, relative to the doctrine of the Sacrament, and written shortly after the disputation at Oxford.

" But whatever may be the obscurity which hangs over the received account of Cranmer's submission, it must, at all events, remain clear, by his own confession, that he suf-

ferred his virtue to be most unworthily tampered with, and humbled himself by a protracted course of hesitation and dissembling. Let it, however, be conceded that his weakness was, in all respects, as ignominious as his worst enemies have ever represented it, still the history of his fall must always occupy one of the darkest pages in the annals of Romish cruelty and cunning. Nothing can well be more astounding, than to find that any professor of the Papal creed, at the present day, should look, without aversion and disgust, upon the steps by which Cranmer was lured into this depth of humiliation. It may be allowed, that the sincere and zealous Roman Catholics of that day might naturally wish for the degradation, nay, even for the execution, of the arch-heretic. But they were not content with his blood. Nothing would satisfy them but the barbarous mutilation of his good name. Their conduct towards him resembled that of an ungenerous adversary, who, having disarmed his antagonist, and smitten him to the earth, first tempts him to debase himself by words of craven supplication, then tramples him in the dust, and, at last, plunges the sword into his heart. One can scarcely imagine how any Roman Catholic gentleman of modern times can think on these things without crying shame on the men who thus disgraced their communion. For the honour of their own party, if not for the sake of Cranmer, the Romanists should be solicitous to bury this portion of his history in everlasting oblivion.

"The sixth paper of submission was dated on the 18th of March. It contained a prayer for mercy; and the answer to this petition was an order for his almost immediate execution. From the very first, it had been determined that he should suffer as a heretic; but his enemies waited awhile, that they might fix upon him the infamy of cowardice and unfaithfulness; and when artifice and temptation had done their worst, the fire was speedily lighted for his destruction. By way of preparation for the solemnity, the provost of Eton College, Dr. Cole, had secret instructions from the queen to prepare a sermon for the occasion: and lest the feelings of the people should break out into violence and tumult, many of the neighbouring

gentry and magistrates were assembled in Oxford, with their servants and retainers, to keep the peace, and witness the execution. On the 20th of March, the day before he suffered, the archbishop was visited in his prison by Dr. Cole, and interrogated by him, whether he continued firm in the Catholic faith, as he had recently professed it? The answer of Cranmer was somewhat equivocal. He said that, by God's grace, he would be still more confirmed in the Catholic faith; a reply which most probably intimated that he had begun to repent of his weakness, and to form a resolution to return to the profession which he had seemingly abandoned. How the interval between that time and the day after was passed by him, we have no certain information; but it is at least likely, that it was employed in preparing the prayer, the exhortation, and the repentant confession of apostasy, which were actually delivered by him immediately before his execution. On the next day, Saturday, the 21st of March, he was again visited by Cole at an early hour, and asked by him whether he was provided with money. Being answered in the negative, Cole supplied him with fifteen crowns,—an indirect, but very intelligible mode of apprising him, that he must prepare for death;—it being then a sort of funeral custom for persons condemned to die to distribute alms among the people. This intimation must, in all likelihood, have dissipated every hope of mercy, and have convinced him that the time was come for publicly abjuring the dissimulation, which had wounded his conscience and his fame, without preserving his life. Some time after Cole had retired, the Friar Garcina made his appearance in the prison, and urgently besought him to transcribe a retraction of his doctrine, to be delivered by him at the stake. It is uncertain whether the document thus tendered to him was the *fifth* of the submissions ascribed to him in Bonner's printed account, but which, as we have seen, had been hitherto suppressed by the council,—or whether (which is the more probable supposition,) it was nothing more than the brief revocation of his doctrine respecting the Eucharist, which, in the printed account of his submissions, is called, "the Saying of Thomas Cranmer, a

little before his death." But, however this may be, it appears that Cranmer consented to transcribe it, and thus to leave the friar under the impression that it was his intention to deliver it before the public, when he came to execution. In this, undoubtedly, there was some appearance of deception ; but it was an expedient to which he was almost driven by the necessity of the case. He well knew, that if he had *then* rejected the proposed paper, and had apprised Garcina of his design to revoke his former submissions, he never would have been allowed to address the bystanders for that purpose, and would thus have perished under the imputation of impenitent apostasy. But though he consented to transcribe the friar's document, there is no reason whatever to believe that he ever set his name to it ; for the seventh paper attributed to him in Bonner's printed statement, appears there, unlike the other six, without the signature of *Thomas Cranmer* ; although the account affirms that it was written with his own hand. It may therefore be reasonably concluded, that he agreed to transcribe it purely for the purpose of ridding himself of the friar's solicitations, and of thus securing an opportunity of proclaiming his repentance before he died."

The closing scene we shall give in the homely phraseology of the chronicler of the martyrs, John Foxe himself :—

"This recantation of the archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all men's hands ; whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription ; then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydal, and friar John de Villa Garcia. All this while Cranmer was in uncertain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors ; but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly ; but of her purpose to put him to death she would nothing relent.

"Now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

"In the meantime, while these things were doing (as I said) in the prison amongst the doctors, the queen, taking secret counsel how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looked for nothing less than death), appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning; and, so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, sendeth him away.

"Soon after, the Lord Williams of Thame, and the Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

"About nine of the clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen that were sent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting-men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation. For first of all, they that were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should stablish the vanity of their opinion: the other part, which were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he who by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined either to this part or to that, so, according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end, all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

"In this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at length cometh from the prison of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church (the chief church in the University), because it was a foul and rainy day, in this order : the mayor went before ; next him the aldermen in their place and degree ; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, who mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church-door, and there they began the song of Simeon, 'Nunc dimittis,' and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his sermon.

"The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a councillor, and of so long-continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparel ?

"In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary. Whom after he had praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts (according to the solemn custom of the schools), intending to speak, first, of the mercy of God : secondly, of his justice to be showed : and last of all, how the

prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he, being indued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholic doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

"After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is so high, that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none: therefore, they should beware and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the queen's majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause she would spare other men; that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example, to teach them all by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune; who, from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into so great misery, as they might now see, being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates in the Church, and an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person in the realm of long time, a man thought in greatest assurance, having a king on his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a councillor to become a caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him: briefly, so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

"The latter part of his sermon he directed to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with these and such-like; bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ

said, 'This day thou shalt be with me in paradise : ' and out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of the fire, by this, 'The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength : ' by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew ; adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross, the patience of St. Laurence on the fire ; assuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

"He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life ; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, he said, and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be diriges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul."

"Cranmer, in all this mean time, with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express than any man can declare ; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven : and then again, for shame, letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present do testify that they never saw in any child more tears than brast out from him at that time, all the sermon while ; but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts that beheld so

heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

"Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people, that were ready to depart, to prayers. 'Brethren,' said he, 'lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and, therefore, I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago, namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a Catholic indeed.' 'I will do it,' said the archbishop, 'and that with a good will;' who, by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people:—

"Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all."

And here kneeling down he said as followeth:—

"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O

heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy ; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, 'Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name,' &c.

And then he rising, said :—

"Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby : so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, it is a heavy case to see, that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation : that you not set your minds overmuch upon this glozing world, but upon God, and upon the world to come ; and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, 'That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

"The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging ; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God ; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you : and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

"The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas ! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good unto

all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, 'It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

"The second is of St. John, whose saying is this, 'He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?'

"The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner: 'Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust; and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire. You gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last day.' Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sentences; for if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.*

"And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour or dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in time past.

* A severe scarcity at that time prevailed.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, etc. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth ; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be ; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation ; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore ; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester ; the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

"Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood. Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived ; for it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victory and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation ; who, as soon as they heard these things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume ; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief—for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the

world can die but once ; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased, now, being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so, when they could do nothing else unto him, yet, lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

"Unto which accusation he answered, 'Ah! my masters,' quoth he, 'do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled :"' and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and specially Cole cried out upon him, 'Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.'

"And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. 'What madness,' say they, 'hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?' To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way, he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his book diligently ; saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

"But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, '*Non fecisti?*—Didst thou it not?'

"But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down, he prayed to God ; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare ; likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of

gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

"Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer, with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

"And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand, and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and specially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly: and chid those sergeants and citizens which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brasenose.

"Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more steadfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

"And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face), that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated 'this unworthy right hand,' so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost."

The testimony of a Roman Catholic spectator, quoted by Strype from a manuscript of the time, is worthy of preservation. He says,—

"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, he crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while.

"His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time; but seeing that not the death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every man, but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcass, that counted not of the folly. Others, that passed not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love; his enemies, for pity; strangers, for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myself, for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind; and, being more than half weary, I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life, with less honour, and easier death, with more praise. The 23d of March, [1555-6].

"Yours, J. A."

So died,—having fallen like Peter, and like Peter, repented,—this great archbishop; than whom few men have laid their country under deeper obligations. It only remains that we add a few words in vindication of his character, in modern times so greatly and so unjustly assailed.

Few names in history have suffered more from the

injustice of historians, in modern times, than that of THOMAS CRANMER. By our most popular living writer, his whole character has been misrepresented, and one of the simplest and most unworldly of men has been held up to contempt, and almost to abhorrence, as a cold-hearted, selfish, servile, and unprincipled courtier. The whole portrait of Cranmer, given in Macaulay's essay, has not even the usual likeness of a tolerable caricature.

The basis of this distortion of facts is laid in the gratuitous assumption that, having ascended to a high station, Cranmer must, of course, have been of a lofty will, and of an aspiring ambition ; must have possessed what we usually regard as the features of a great man. But the well-known circumstances of the case utterly negative this assumption. By a pure and self-possessed mind, Cranmer was well fitted for high positions, but not by the power of a dominant will. When persuasion, or a supposed duty of submission, was brought to bear upon him, he was unable to resist the pressure. Thus, again and again, he became culpable ; not by his own disposition, or the promptings of his own heart ; but by succumbing to the supposed authority of the sovereign ; by discharging what seemed to him an official duty ; whether the applicant were Henry, divorcing a wife, or Edward, diverting into an unjust course the succession to the crown.

In truth, Cranmer knew his own weakness and his own strength. His sincere desire was, at the outset of his career, to be allowed to retire to some quiet benefice, where he " might follow his book." Had this desire been granted, we should have had one or two valuable works in addition to our present stock of Protestant divinity ; but we might, perhaps, speaking after the manner of men, have been disappointed of the English Reformation.

Cranmer was a man to be loved and esteemed more than admired. He was a genuine man, mild, benevolent, simple-hearted, not ambitious, or mercenary. But he often allowed those whom Providence had placed above him to dictate his course in politics ; and this reliance on others plunged him more than once or twice into difficulties, and into a measure of disgrace.

All that was properly his own, was wise, and good, and pure. By "his own," we mean, of course, that which was not forced upon him by his fellow-men. Could we only erase from his history those few scenes in which the influence or persuasions of others turned him from his own opinions, we should have a beautiful character. It is only when an imperious sovereign like Henry, or a beloved youth like Edward, employs royal persuasions, that we find Cranmer abandoning his own purposes and impressions, and falling into error.

The period in which he lived was a very different one from ours, and the difference is not always remembered. The royal authority was still held as almost infallible, and at all events as supreme. Hence, when Cranmer heard a judgment or a decision from this quarter, he accepted it as in some sense the voice of God. And this is the true answer to another charge urged against him,—namely, that he held the king to be the *spiritual* as well as *temporal* head of the nation.

Two characteristics are clearly discernible above all others in Cranmer's history:—1. His sincere and unceasing search after truth, leading him, in the course of years, to change his views on many subjects, but exactly as an honest seeker for truth always does change them. 2. His habitual and whole-hearted obedience to what he deemed lawful authority.

Now, these two prominent features in his character naturally led him towards Erastianism. His studies, when forced to take part in public affairs, were much directed to the investigation of the pope's title to England's obedience. He laboriously and unceasingly searched into this question, until at last he adopted the pithy conclusion, to which he obtained the signatures of bishops, deans, mitred abbots, and eminent laymen, in great numbers:—that "the Bishop of Rome hath no more authority in this realm of England than any other bishop of the universal Church."

But now, what naturally followed in the mind of one who was not a Calvin or a Knox? He had detected and expelled, as an usurper, one great source and fountain of authority. But to authority he naturally clung. Having

discovered that the Bishop of Rome had no more right to exercise jurisdiction over England than the Bishops of Marseilles or of Barcelona, he instantly felt the want of some fountain of jurisdiction and source of mission. The pope could not make or unmake an archbishop of Canterbury, nor could he, rightfully, call an English archbishop to the bar. But if he had not those powers, who had? Cranmer felt that he could not have made himself an archbishop, and he knew that he had not been made primate by the other bishops. Whence, then, was he to derive his authority?

Cranmer knew nothing of the Presbyterian system, nor had he ever seen or heard of any assembly of bishops uniting to make one of their number an archbishop over them. In point of fact, he knew that Henry had raised him to the primacy; and he could entertain no doubt that, in so doing, Henry had merely carried into effect the decrees of Providence.

What more natural, then, than for him to remember St. Paul's words, "The powers that be are ordained of God,"—and the doings of Solomon, who "thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord," and "put Zadok the priest in the room of Abiathar?" Having got rid of the pope, and not seeing how any "General Assembly," or "Presbytery," or "Free Church," was in the least degree possible, how could Cranmer, to whom an authority was a positive necessity, how could he do otherwise than vest that authority in the king? Henry VIII., and Henry VII. before him, were "most religious kings." Cranmer found in Scripture the obligation laid on all Christian princes to rule their people for Christ. He knew that the king under whom he lived acknowledged this obligation. What more natural, then, than the conclusion to which he came, and which Mr. Macaulay quotes, as if it were something monstrous, namely, "that God had committed to Christian princes the whole care of their subjects; as well concerning the administration of God's word, as the ministration of things political?"

The solution of the problem would require perhaps a volume. We attempt now to urge no more than this,—

that Cranmer had been taught from his youth the necessity of a visible head, or ruler, of the Church,—that he then investigated the pope's claims, and found them wholly undeserving of attention,—and that, finally, being quite unable to conceive of a visible Church without a visible head, or ruler, he assigned that high office to the sovereign, evidently unable to discover in what other hands these important functions could possibly be placed.

This general view may suffice to answer some of the principal charges brought against him. As to his personal habits and character, let the testimony of eye-witnesses exhibit him as he lived and moved.

Old John Foxe, who lived on intimate terms with many of Cranmer's personal friends, thus describes the archbishop :—

“ ‘ A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God.’ Like as no man is without sin, and every man carrieth with him his especial vice and fault, so yet, nevertheless, the apostle meaneth that the bishop and minister must be faultless, in comparison of the common conversation of men of the world, which seem more licentiously to live at their own liberties and pleasures, than the bishop or minister ought to do, having small regard unto good example giving : which a bishop and minister most carefully ought to consider, lest by his dissolute life the word of God be slandered and evil spoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order that he in the University commonly used, that is, by five of the clock in the morning at his book, and so consuming the time in study and prayer until nine of the clock. He then applied himself (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner-time to hear suitors, and to despatch such matters as appertained unto his special cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, unto his officers : so that such things were never impediments either to his study, or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of

corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part always being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for sifting and bolting out of one matter or other, for the commodity and profit of the Church of England : by means whereof, and what for his private study, he was never idle : besides that he accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas.

" After dinner, if any suitors were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and despatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that somewhile divers of them were committed by him to prison. And having no suitors after dinner, for an hour or thereabout he would play at the chess, or behold such as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, at the which commonly he for the most part stood, and seldom sat ; and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that hour in hearing the common prayer, and walking or using some honest pastime until supper-time. At supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not sup), yet would he sit down at the table, having his ordinary provision of his mess furnished with expedient company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would (as it were) thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the company with such fruitful talk as did repast and much delight the hearers, so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the alms-chest well maintained for relief of the poor. After supper, he would consume one hour at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other ; so that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the commodity of the Church ; which his well-bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other men's conversation faultless, as it became the minister of God."

Among other witnesses to his uniformly amiable demeanour, two of his most celebrated contemporaries claim a hearing:—

“He was a gentleman,” says Osiander, “of good birth and quality; had an aspect and presence that carried dignity with it, an incredible sweetness of manners, and learning beyond the common degrees of it; was benign and liberal towards all, and especially to those that were studious and of good literature. Rarely to be found in the age in which he lived, were his wisdom, prudence, fortitude, temperance, justice; a singular love towards his country, the highest faithfulness to his sovereign, a contempt of earthly things, a love of heavenly, and a most ardent study towards the evangelic truth, sincere religion, and Christ’s glory.” Such was Cranmer about the time he attained his high station in the Church. Behold him now, when exercising the duties of that station in the reign of Edward, as represented to us next by Peter Martyr:—“To all the kingdom his godliness, prudence, faithfulness, and singular virtues, were known. With the grace and favour of Christ he was so well adorned, as that, though others are the children of wrath, yet in him piety, and divine knowledge, and other virtues, might seem to be naturally born and bred, such deep root in him they had taken; so that I often wished and professed,” says this learned foreigner, “that I should esteem it as a great benefit vouchsafed by God to come as near as might be to his virtues, which in him I admired as the wonderful gifts of God. Towards myself and others, that fled into England for religion, the kindness and humanity of the archbishop were such, that if I should render just thanks, and speak of them as they deserved, I must do nothing but tell of them.”

The engaging affability of his manners contributed also not a little to the completion of his designs. His kind and prudent conduct as a diocesan, still more. It was his study to place in towns where the inhabitants were numerous, and the salaries small, able ministers with sufficient stipends: it was his delight often to preach in them him-

self. "It is indeed surprising," as Gilpin remarks, "how much he was beloved and how few enemies he made, when we consider that his whole life was a constant opposition to the opinions and prejudices of the times. Those whom he could not persuade, he never disoblige; and a harsh measure he considered only as another name for an imprudent one." Even Pole acknowledged to him, that he was no stranger to the high esteem which he enjoyed for gentleness and clemency.

"With regard to the intellectual powers of Cranmer," says Mr. Le Bas, "solidity seems to have been their leading attribute. His faculties were eminently practical. The imaginative power scarcely entered into the composition of his mind. He was incessantly employed in patient accumulation of authorities and precedents. He could never rest until he had explored all that had been said or thought before him, relative to any peculiar subject of his research. The qualities of his understanding were those which were fitted rather to make a sound and cautious judge than a commanding advocate. The progress of his mind through any region of inquiry was generally slow and painful. He proceeded like a person who was laying down a chart. The work was tedious and protracted; but when once it was completed, its guidance might be thoroughly relied on. Capacities like these were not of that high order which confers immortality on inventors and discoverers. But they were exactly fitted for the office which Providence assigned him. A more impetuous temperament, or even a more quick and intuitive perception of truth, might have betrayed him into impatience and precipitation. They might thus have raised up against the Reformation a barrier of prejudice and opposition, even at the very outset; or else might have hurried on its chariot-wheels till they took fire with their own speed, and carried ruin and confusion with them in their career. The habit of unwearied investigation—the dispassionate examination of moral evidence—the insensibility to mere popular impulse—the steady and single-hearted love of truth—these are the qualities requisite for a religious Reformer, and these qualities were eminently concentrated in Cranmer. To

the desire of popular applause, for its own sake, he seems to have been an utter stranger. We can discern, in his life, nothing like a fretful jealousy of his mere literary reputation. It is quite evident that, when he wrote, he wrote, not for fame, but for the accomplishment of an immediate purpose. When an error was to be put down, or a truth to be established, he turned to his books and his collections; and his object was, not to compile an immortal volume, but to produce a deep and lasting effect on the public mind. His fame is recorded, not so much in his written works, as in the enduring institutions of his country. The monument of his wisdom is around us."

THE END.

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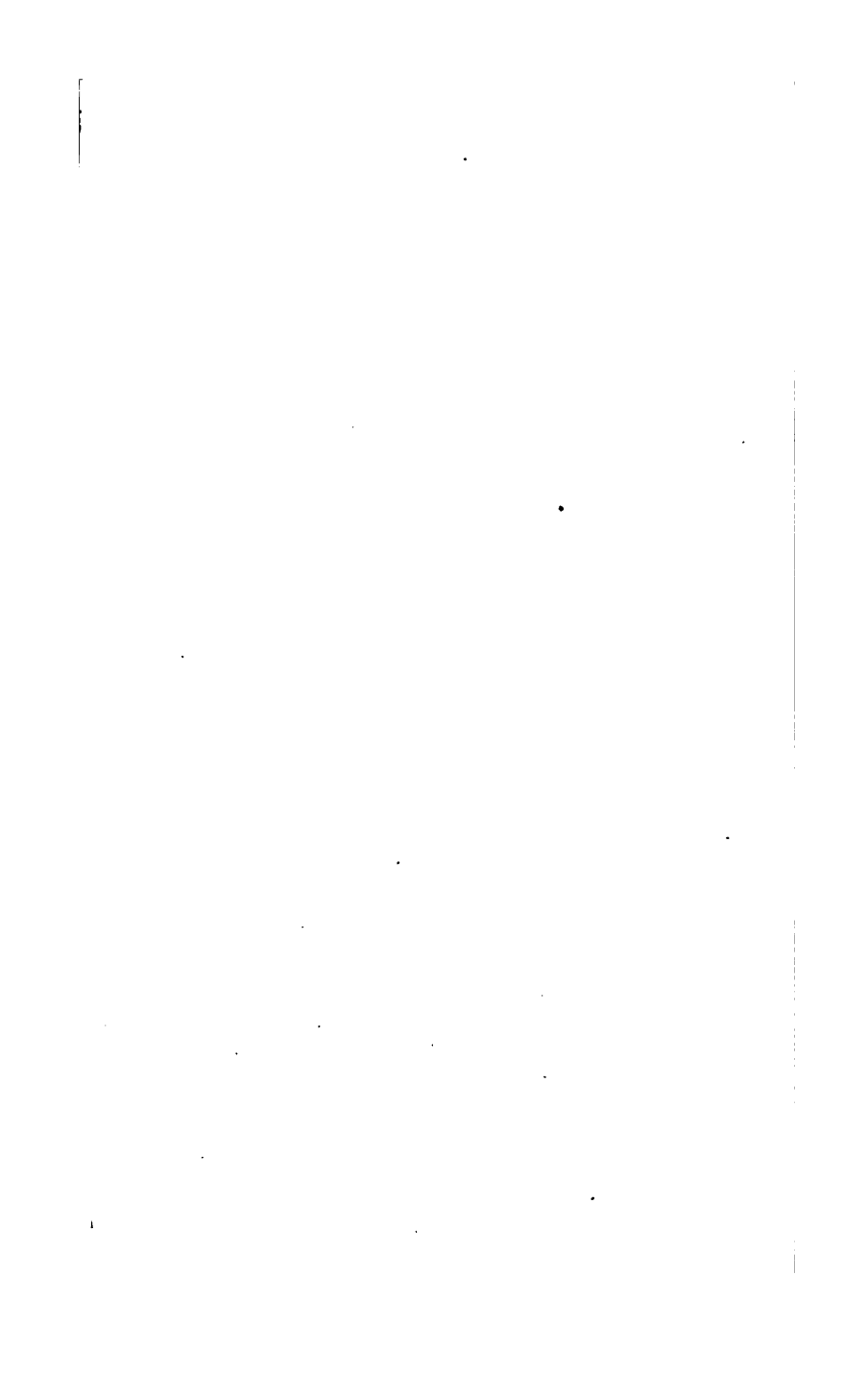
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